

THE
HISTORY
OF 2. 10. 30
CATILINE'S
Conspiracy :

Faithfully related out of the
Classical Authors.

WITH SOME
General OBSERVATIONS

For assisting the Interests of
PEACE and VIRTUE.

*Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae,
Magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis.*

Cicer. de Orat. Lib. 2. Cap. 9.

L O N D O N ,

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THE EPISTLE

To the

READER.

I*T may be some satisfaction to the Reader, to have an account of the Method and Design of this little History, before he engages in it; which has indeed been written with such pure Love to all Men, that nothing need be conceal'd from a Publick view: He may therefore be pleas'd to know in the first place, that the Author hereof has pursued the directions of that Oracle of Learning, the Lord Bacon, in his advancement of it: A Work worthy such a Noble Pen as his, and such a Royal Patron, as the first most Learned Monarch of Great Britain.*

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There he gives us both invitation and advice : * ' For if the invention of the Ship was thought so Noble, which carrieth Riches and Commodities from place to place, and conso-
'ciateth the most remote Regions in participa-
'tion of their Fruits : How much more are
'Letters to be magnified, which, as Ships,
'pass through the vast Seas of Time, and
'make Ages so distant, to participate of the
'Wisdom, Illuminations and Inventions, the
'one of the other ?

In his advice for accomplishing this, he tells us : * ' It hath much greater Life for Practise,
'when the Discourse attendeth upon the Exam-
'ple, than when the Example attendeth upon
'the Discourse. For this is no Point of Order
'(as it seemeth at first) but of Substance : For
'when the Example is the ground, being set
'down in an History at large, it is set down
'with all circumstances ; which may sometimes
'controul the Discourse thereupon made, and
'sometimes supply it, as a very patern for Acti-
'on : Whereas the Examples alledged for the
'Discourses sake, are cited succinctly, and
'without particularity, and carry a servile
'aspect towards the Discourse, which they are
'brought in to make good.

* Lord Bacon's advancement of Learning : Book 1. Pag. 88.
* Advan. Learn. Book 2. Pag. 282.

Though

to the Reader.

Though this may be of most Publick use, yet certainly 'tis much more desirable not to pursue any particular History at all; for fear of any mischievous, though undesign'd, reflection: Especially in an Age so very factious. It would be more safe to give only some general Theorems, of excellent Virtue and sordid Vice; of sweet Peace, strong Unity, harmonious Charity; and on the other hand of consuming War, desolating Divisions, murdering Hatred. But this, our Noble Author, tells us will not be so effectual: 'For generally 'Men taste those knowledges best, which 'are drench'd in Flesh and Blood. When the Virtues recommended, and the Vices disgraced are embodied in the reality of Persons and Actions.

This History of Catiline's Conspiracy is chosen, as most fit to attain such an advantage, and yet to avoid the danger: It will awaken our attention, as being one of the most considerable and elaborate Treasons that ever was; acted by the greatest Men, controuled by the wisest Politicians, written by the best Authors that ever lived. It is also foreign as to all those Circumstances, which may in any wise seem to reflect; Christianity it self was then unborn; so that no Party of Men amongst us can suppose their Religion concerned here, otherwise than in what

The Epistle

is said to favour Moral and Eternal Truth :
Then, the Roman Polity was so vastly different from the modern Government of any Nation, that no remarks can be made, but such as are common to every Man, as Citizen of the World.

Yet is there (as our excellent Adviser warns us) " A Gigantick State of Mind, which possesseth the Troublers of the World, such as was Lucius, Sylla, and infinite other in smaller Model, who would have all men happy or unhappy as they were their Friends or Enemies, and would give form to the World according to their own Humours (which is the true Theomachy,) this pretendeth and aspireth to A true good, though it recedeth farthest from good of Society, which we have determined to be the greater.

From those, who are possessed with this Spirit, who are tied up close to particular Designs and Junctures, and so grown fierce with dark keeping, any Design for Universal Good must needs expect a cast of Buffoon Raillery; but as 'tis really an Honour to be hated by the Vile and Factions, so, to preserve that Honour and our own Peace, it will be necessary to pass by (as men usually do when they are

to the Reader.

upon business) and Scorn the raving of such Animals.

If any serious good Man shall phantasie a reflection, more than the general Nature of Virtue and Vice does influence; the Author protests his innocence, and flies to the Royal Motto, viz. Evil be to him, that Evil thinks; he thought none.

Nor can it be any, to recount the Ancient Examples of Divine Vengeance: 'Tis Piety to God, and Charity to our innocent Neighbour, when we glorifie the interpositions of Providence to support the Governments it has established, when we give instances of impious Rebels brought to distress, of villanous Incendiaries consumed in those Flames they kindled; of Prodigals, Adulterers, Drunkards, and such like laid fast in that destruction, which their Debaucheries first made way for, and then by oppressing wants drove them into with a rash speed.

When ever we see this, 'tis a piece of Natural devotion, to lift up our Eyes to Heaven, and acknowledge, There is a God that governs the World! And though he is not pleased always to appear with an immediate stroke, such as would compel the Wills of sensual Men (the Methods of his Government being agreeable to that Liberty, which is proper to the Humane Nature) yet has his Sovereign

The Epistle

Justice been ever confessed, as we have one
of their own Poets testifying :

* Rarò antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Pœna claudo.

The Primitive Apologists for Christianity have always exclaim'd against devilish Idolatry and bloody Superstition, as creating the most barbarous inhumanities, destructive Wars and fatal Treasons, the World was oppressed with : Which on the other hand, Atheists, ancient and modern, do most nonsensically attribute to true Religion (for what is more contrary them ? The Sun may as well be reputed a cause of darkness ; and the fat Clouds of Heaven to beget Famine.) I shall therefore add the observation of Minucius Felix, as well for confirming this Truth as a particular passage in the ensuing History : * 'That the Romans did in his time worship the Italian Jupiter by Homicide, as was very agreeable to the Son of Saturn (who devour'd all his Male-Children, and eat up (as 'twas said) a great Stone lapt in Blankets when

* Horat. Carm. Lib. 2 Ode 2.

* Hodie ab ipsis [Romanis] Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur : Et, quod Saturni filio dignum est, mali & noxii hominis sanguine jaginatur. Ipsum credo docuisse sanguinis fœdere conjurare Catilinam. Minuc. Fel. Pag. 99. Edit. 1636.

to the Reader.

he was cheated of Jupiter) to be batten'd
with the Blood of a Vicious, Villanous Man:
He it was, I believe, that taught Catiline, to
frame his Conspiracy in a Covenant of Blood.

'Twas also mischievous Superstition, that
instigated Cornelius Lentulus, to such a Ty-
rannical ambition, and such execrable Enter-
prizes: And what this History discovers of
him, the Histories of the World prove to be
general.

But true Religion abets the Government of
Heaven, and keeps Men in that excellent Or-
der, wherein the Divine Providence places
them. The whole Creation subsists by an in-
violable Observance of those Decrees the Su-
preme Lord hath established; he hath also
given in the Sacred Records of Christianity
as strict Laws, and requires as strict an Obe-
dience for the support of Kingdoms and Na-
tions; That Infinite Wisdom which framed the
Earth, and over-rules the annual Circulation
of Blessings, hath not in the least neglected the
Government of Men, hath not left them to
injure and destroy one another. But he has
there with Eternal Rewards and Punishments
secur'd our submission to Political Ordinances;
all his excellent Precepts are to persnade our
affections into the kindest influence upon the
Actions of our Lives.

This the Divine Oracles, which may be read
by

The Epistle

*by all, sufficiently testify; enquire of them; I shall add no more but the assertion of One, who in the first Age of Christianity thus wrote to the very Rich, but very Factious City of Corinth; * Let all Sedition, and all Schism be abominable to you.—— Hence it is that Righteousness and Peace keep at such a distance from you, because every one is so defective in the fear of God, so purblind in the Divine Faith; not walking according to the Laws of his Government, nor acting agreeably to Christ; but each pursues his own wicked Lusts, cherishing an unjust and impious Concupiscence, by which Death it self entred into the World.*

To that Archtype, the Divine Law (whether Natural or revealed, for both are fundamentally the same) do the most illuminated Sentiments of Heathens, and the most Noble Actions of their Virtuosi, agree; amongst them may we find such vigorous irradiancies of the Humane Nature, as will joyfully refresh the Interests of Christian Piety, such Schemes of generous Actions as most advantageously join forces with true Religion; for all

* Πᾶσι χάρις καὶ πᾶν ὅμιλον βεβαίωνται ὑμῖν. — Διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἁπλῶς καὶ διηγουμένη καὶ ἰερήν, ἐν τῷ ἀπολείπειν ἔχουσιν τὸ φόβον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν ἀμελυνώσονται; καὶ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτῶν πορεύσονται, καὶ ἐν πολιτείας κατὰ τὸ κεθῆκον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀλλὰ ἔχουσιν βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν τὰς πορνείας, ζήλον ἀδίκον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνελεηρότητας, δι' ἣν καὶ θάνατος ἐσηλθεν εἰς τὸ κόσμον. Clemens Roman, ad Corinth. Edit. Oxon. 1633. Pag. 4. & 5.

solid

to the Reader.

Solid Policy is built upon Eternal Righteousness; And upon this account are these great Agents of the World here call'd in, that they may serve the present Generation, and pay the just Tribute of their Testimony, to the Supreme illuminator of Mankind.

*'Twould too much undervalue the Reader, and those excellent Authors, which are here principally made use of, to suppose that they need any recommendation. The most Judicious Plutarch, and most Accurate Dio, the two renowned Grecians we are so oblig'd to, have been ever valued at the highest Rate: The Latine Historian * Crispus Salust (whose particular History upon this Subject required a continual attendance) obtain'd the Dignity of Primate amongst the Romans: But whether it was out of affection and complaisance to Cæsar, or some invidious unkindness to the most deserving Consul Cicero, he hath left it so, that 'tis necessary to insert the Catilinarian Orations at large: Which indeed deserve their place, and challenge such a Glory, as nothing, but the too eager pursuit of it in them, is able to obscure.*

It may seem a rash attempt to venture upon Translating those incomparable pieces of Roman Oratory, and the Author here is sensible how their great Spirit often languishes in the Interpretation; but this must not be imputed to the defects either of our Age or Language, which

** Crispus Romanæ Primus in Historia.*

Martial Epigr.

are

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are now able to equal any thing, the Soul of Man ever produced: And that the Imperfections here may not too much reflect, this Author acknowledges and begs Pardon that he has allowed himself to be sometimes weary of this, which is the more drudging sort of study, as being too intent upon the real History, and the usefulness of Remarks: Tet it may possibly appear by some places, that others might have been rendered with advantage enough.

However were there nothing here but the defaced remains of Antiquity, Monuments of Venerable Rust, yet we have amongst us, those English Heroes, who, both for Learning and Virtue, for rais'd and excellent Spirits, do equal if not exceed the Roman greatness: 'Twas their Honour to have rissled Greece, and 'twas justly acknowledged to them to have done so; we must not therefore be so injurious to the present Age as to suppress that Glory which is due to it in the Spoils of Rome.

* As Cicero returned home from the foreign

* Ὅθεν εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ Ῥώδον ἔπλευσεν, ἐν Ῥόδῳ, Ῥήτορι μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Μόλων ὁ συνεχόρασεν; λέγεται δὲ Ἀπολλωνίον, ὃ συνιέντα τῷ Ῥωμαικῷ διάλεκτον; δευθλῶναι δὲ Κικέρων ὁ Ἑλλινιστὴ μελετῆσαι; τὸ δὲ ὑπακούσαι προθύμως, οὐόμενον ὅπως ἔσονται βελτίονα τῶν ἐπαύροισιν; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμελέτησε, τὸς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπαινεῖται, καὶ διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἄλλους τοῖς ἐπαινοῖς, τὸ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίον ὅτ' ἀκρωμένον αὐτῷ διαγυθῶναι, καὶ παυσανμένῃ σύννυν χαλῆζεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον; ἀχθόμενῃ δὲ Κικέρων ὁ ἐπιτεῖν. Σὲ μὲν ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος ὁ δικτεῖρω τῶν πυχλῶν, ὁρῶν, ὃ μόνον τῷ χαλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπελείπετο καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τοῦ προσχόμενα, παιδεύειν καὶ λόγον. Plutarchi Cicero.

Nurseries

to the Reader.

Nurseries of Learning, he staid at Rhodes, where lived the famous Oratour Apollonius, who, having received some reports of his much applauded Eloquence, long'd to partake thereof, but not well understanding the Latine Tongue, entreated him to declaim in Greek, this Cicero readily yielded to, as supposing he might thereby more fully receive the advantage of his censure: VVhen he had done the Company were all amaz'd, and strove with the highest Encomiums to express his worth; but Apollonius sate sad and silent: which, when he observ'd, that Cicero took amiss, he said, 'I value and admire you, O Cicero, but in the mean time I must pittie the fortune of Greece; since those excellent Goods, Learning and Eloquence (which were all that was left) are now by you brought over to the Romans.

'Tis long ago that Rome lost all it's dominion over us, but now are the last spoils of Learning and Eloquence most apparent; her own Language amongst us, under the present happy Peace we enjoy, is at the same height it was under the felicity of Augustus; our Britannick Academies perfectly triumph over all the Schools of Modern Italy; VVe have also had such of late, who have merited and obtain'd the Name of Cicero.

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It was necessary for a full understanding of this History, sometimes to insert the Original Constitutions of Rome, which a little interrupts the Narrative, and creates some trouble to the Reader especially at first; and then keeping strictly to the reports of so many Classical Authors will not allow such a continued currency, as might have been maintained, if only that had been arbitrarily pick't out, which made to the present purpose.

*But this Author designing the entire Truth and full account of the History, that it might not be contaminated (as the excellent * Cicero took care) with one falsity, and that the Reader might have the satisfaction of knowing so, or else correcting it all along, as he goes; 'tis not to be despair'd of, that the inconveniences acknowledged should obtain a favourable allowance with those, who chiefly aim at a solid advantage in what they read, and to whom the principal regard is due.*

Cœnæ fercula nostræ

Mallem convivis, quàm placuisse cocis.

* Mibi cujusquam salus tanti esset, ut meam negligerem? Per me Ego veritatem patefactam contaminarem aliquo mendacio? Cicero, Orat. pro P. Syllâ. Cap. 16.

to the Reader.

The Two chief supports of History are Geography and Chronology, which fix the Reader's Memory, and much enliven his apprehensions : Here is therefore an account of each place, inserted out of Strabo, who lived in that Age, and was best able to describe, how the VWorld was, when these things were transacted. The timing of it, is according to the Tables of learned Helvicus, and the most vulgar Computation in them ; it not being of a Farthing concernment, whether the VWorld was Two Years Older or Younger, when Catiline was overtaken by the Divine Vengeance : So long as the particular affairs have a due distance, and proper consistency among themselves.

There might have been also annexed, the story of Cicero's Banishment, the disgrace and misfortune of his Friends after they had been so very instrumental in the preservation of their Countrey; and (when the Storm was blown over) their happy Restauration : But these, not being of such Moral influence for preserving Virtue, Peace and Government, may well stay and expect the success of what is thus far attempted.

THE

to the Reader

The Two chief supports of History are Geography and Chronology, which in the hands of Memory, and much as in the appearance: Here is therefore an account of each place, inserted out of Strabo, who lived in that age, and was able to describe, how the World was when these things were transacted. The timing of it, is according to the Tables of famous Histories, and the most vulgar Comparison in them; it not being of a lasting consequence, whether the World was Two Thousand Years or Ten Thousand, when Cæsar was overthrown by the Divine Punishment: So long as the particular affairs have a due distance, and proper consequence among themselves.

There might have been also inserted the story of Cicero's banishment, the dis-grace and misfortune of our Friends, for that they had been so very instrumental in the preservation of their Country; and when the storm was blown over, their happy restoration: that these, not being of such liberal assistance for profiting the mind, Peace and Government may well stay and expect the success of what is thus far proposed.

THE

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ERRATA

ERRATA.

P Age	11.	Line 9.	Read, adjourn the execution.
	20.	16.	Cicero and Antonius.
	22.	4.	translated by Xylander.
	23.	23.	become homagers.
	30.	2.	691.
	47.	24.	upon the Consciences.
	58.	22.	ungovernable fury.
	72.	31.	They have spent.
	105.	15.	A full Assembly.
	129.	ult.	Safety lay groaning.
	165.	12.	the Consul wait.
	167.	14.	to the Consul Antonius.
		15.	marching against Catiline.
	171.	7.	Cassiodore.
	175.	10.	in the front.
	176.	ult.	But if on.

ADVER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THe Errata in the Quotations are not here collected, as being easily observed and corrected by the learned Reader as he goes along: Nor need they be very nicely look'd into, since the Authorities were added only for collateral security to the credit of the History, lest anything should be imagin'd in it, either *Romantick or Modern.*

It may also deserve Advertisement, that whereas many have of late sought an understanding of this Conspiracy out of Sallust alone; He, though an excellent Historian, full of succinct and nervous Sentences of the greatest advantage as well as delight to a judicious Reader, yet cannot be depended upon for an entire and impartial account: Since he was wholly devoted to the Cæsarean party, and all along most unjustly suppresses the Merits of Cicero. As has been made appear by the learned Rivius in a Corollary written for that purpose, and added to the Leiden Edition of Sallust.

THE

THE HISTORY

OF Catiline's Conspiracy.

(a) **L** *Ucius* (†) *Sergius Catiline* was Nobly Born; had great Endowments both of Body and Mind, but a very Corrupt and Mischievous Ingenuity: Civil War, Slaughter, and Rapine, so soon as ever his Age was capable of them, were grateful to him; they were his Youthful Exercises. His Body could endure Want, Cold, and Watching in an incredible manner. His Mind was Bold, Subtil, Perfidious; Covetous of what was anothers, profuse of his own; all his Affections Ardent.

(a) *L. Catilina, Nobili genere Natus, fuit magna vi & animi, & corporis, sed ingenio malo, praeoque. Huit ab Adoleſcentia, bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere: Corpus, patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolis, varius, cuiuslibet rei simulator, ac dissimulator; alieni appetens, sui profusus; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum: Vastus animus; immoderata, incredibilia, nimia alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem L. Sallae lubido maxime invaserat reipublica capiunda: Neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 5.*

(†) *L. Sergius Catilina; Nobilissimi generis vir, sed ingenuis praevissimi, ad delendam patriam conjuravit, cum quibusdam claris quidem, sed audacibus viris. Estrop. Lib. 6.*

He had also a great share of Eloquence and as little Wisdom. His Mind was so insatiable, as to be filled, not only with the most immoderate desires, but those that to common Reason seem incredible. From the time of Sylla's Tyranny, (* in whose Cruel Massacres he was a great Instrument,) a vast Ambition of seizing upon the Common-wealth possessed him. Nor cared he how, so he might prevail.

Upon this Character of another, every wise Man would look into himself and consider his own Nature, that as we are made capable of Divine perfections, of the Blessedness of Heaven, upon which account we are but little lower than the Angels: So if these Excellent Faculties be enslaved by the Dominion of Vice, we do not only become more vile than the Beasts that perish, but hateful, and mischievous like the Devils: Every Accomplishment promotes our Ruine; by how much more Excellent we might be, by so much more miserable do we make our selves and others; a consideration which can never enough possess us, that so we may maintain the Interest of our Excellent Beings against the destructive In-roads of Vice.

(*) *Lucius Sylla perfringi crura, cui oculos, amputari manus iussit; & quasi toties occideret, quoties vulnerabor, paulatim & per singulos artus laceravit. Quis eras huius Imperii minister? Quis, nisi Catilina, jam in omne facinus manus exercens? Dignus erat Marius qui illa pateretur, Sylla qui juberet; Catilina qui faceret: Sed indigna Resp. que in corpus suum pariter & hostium & civium gladios reciperet. Senec. de Ira. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.*

Catiline's Conspiracy.

3

(†) The Roman Empire had its rise and growth from an Extraordinary Valour, Temperance, and Parsimony, and those same Vertues by which it so Gloriously began, would have been its perpetual support. But Industry being laid asleep, Ambition and Pride succeeding in the room of Modesty and Justice, the Fortunes and Manners of the Empire were lost together.

Avarice and Luxury (those two most contrary, but usually Companion-vices) now so seized its Vitals, that (*) those who by Noble Birth, and Honourable Employments, were Obligated to secure its Glory, would readily become the vile Instruments of its Ruine.

(b) Catiline Headed all the Debauchees of the Town, and in so great and corrupt a City he was easily surrounded with numerous Troops of Flagitious Persons, most agreeable to himself. Whosoever had Play'd, or Drunk, or Whored away his Estate;

(†) *Imperium facile illi artibus retinetur, quibus initio tantum est, verum, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia & equitate libido atque superbia invasere; fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 2.

(*) *Quibus id nefas sociis aggressus est? Ipse Patricius, sed hoc minus est. Curii, Porcii, Sulle, Cethegi, Autronii, Varguntei, atque Longini, quæ familia? Quæ Senatus insignia?* L. Florus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(b) *In tantâ tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod facinus facilissimum erat, omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tanquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, penè bona patrie laceraverat; ad hoc, quos manus, atque lingua, perjurio, & sanguine civili alebât, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus agitabat, hi Catilinæ proximi, familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam à culpa vacuus, in amicitiam ejus inciderat; quotidiano usu, atque illecebris, facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 14.

B z

whoever

whoever had his Tongue well hung for Perjury, or his Hand ready to shed Blood: All whom Villany, Want, or Fear of deserved Punishment, had brought into a restless disquiet, became his Comrades, the fit Associates of his Conspiracy: And when any one that was free from Vice, fell into his Friendship, their daily Debaucheries, and continual Sollicitations, reduced him to a sad likeness.

That he might augment the Numbers of his Party, (c) *Catiline* chiefly affected the Familiarity of Young Men, whose Minds were softest, their Age most unsteady, and so most easily ensnared: These he gratified according to their several Inclinations; some he laid fast in that deep Ditch of Whoredom, for others he bought Dogs, and Horses, giving them the more Airy Diversions of the Field. He spared neither his Estate nor Modesty, that he might render them Faithful and Obnoxious to him.

As likeness of Vice and guiltiness of Crimes, make the Flagitious flye to those who are the greatest Protectors of them, so none at present more notoriously deserved the Preheminence, than *Catiline*. (d) When he was very Young, he was known to have

(c) *Sed maxima adolescentium familiaritates oppatebat: eorum animi molles, aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium, ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebeere, aliis Canes, atque equos mercari: Postremo neque sumptui, neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios, fidosque sibi faceret. Ibid.*

(d) *Jam primum adolescens Catilinæ, multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, & aliis hujusmodi contra jus, fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus, præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit: quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulterum aetate, pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum sceleris nuptiis fecisse. Ibid. Cap. 15.*

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Perpetrated many the most nefarious Debaucheries: He is said to have Vitiated a Noble Virgin, a Vestal Nun, violating all the Obligations of Religion and Honesty. At last, falling in Love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, (in whom, besides Beauty, there was nothing well.) He resolves to Marry her, which he was forc'd to accomplish by the greatest Villany: For she refusing to come into a Family, where there was a Son grown up, who would not only Heir the Estate, but be continually troublesome to a Mother-in-law: *Catiline* (as is certainly believed) Murdered this Son, to make way for his Wicked Nuptials.

(e) This our Judicious Historian, *Crispus Sallustius*, thinks to have been the great Occasion that drew him into the present Villanous Conspiracy; for his Mind being so horribly impure, so maliciously contrary both to God and Man, he could neither sleeping, nor waking take any rest, but was driven on to the Execution of the most dire designs.

Here we have not only the Fatal Progeny of Vice, what Monsters it is big of, and brings forth at last, but of what Publick Mischief it is to the World. For though it be at first shut up in a private Breast, or Family, it will (if not carefully suppressed by condign Punishment) rage like an Epidemick Plague, to the Ruine of that Government which neglected it. But oh, Vertue! thou art the Glorious and steady support of a Nation, thou ever Liberally Rewardest that Protection thou receivest,

(c) *Quæ quidem res mihi imprimis videtur, causâ fuisse facinoris maturandi, namque animus impurus, diis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari potuit; à conscientia mentem excitam vexabat. Ibid.*

*The Year from the Building of Rome
686.*

Before the Nativity of Christ 65.

*Caius Calpurnius Piso, and Marcus
Acilius Glabrio, Consuls.*

THE first thing taken care of by the Patrons of the Common-wealth, was an unbribed Election of good Magistrates, the Prosperity of Affairs depending upon their just management of them. But of late, all things were Saleable at Rome; the worst Men by Treats, and Money, got into the greatest Trust, and then by private Advantages, repaid their Original charge.

(f) To prevent this, the Senate prevailed upon the Consuls, *Acilius*, and *Piso*, to pass a Law against Bribery in Elections; and this they the more

(f) Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀκιλίου τε Πίσωνος ταῦτα τε ἔπος ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῆς δεκάτης πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαίας ἀλισκομένων ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς ὑπάτων, μὴ ἀρχεῖν, μὴτε βελεύειν σφῶν μηδενὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων προποφισχεῖν. -- αἰπορ δὲ ὅτι Γαῖος τις Κορνηλίου δημαρχῶν πικρότατα ἐπιπύματι ζῆαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ ὁμιλος ἦρετο, ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ συνιδεῖσα ἔτι πρὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῆς πτωχευμάτων ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐκπληξιν πινὰ ἔχει, οὗτο δὲ τὸς καταχρησάμεντας ἔτι τὸς καταψευδόμενους τῆς ὑπασιῶν ἀτε καὶ ἀνηκαστῶν αὐτῶν ὄντων εὐδίδως εὐρίσκει. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτερον ἐς τε τὰς καταχρησίας συχνοὺς περσάζει, καὶ τὰς καταψεύσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέποντι μεταρρυθμίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἐσθλότητα αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις νομοθετήσας αὐτὴν ἐκάλειψεν. *Dio Cassius, Lib. 36 Edit. Steph. pag. 20.*

earnestly

Catiline's Conspiracy.

earnestly and carefully promoted, because *Caius Cornelius*, Tribune of the People, had framed another with such over-severe Punishments, that it was not likely anyBody should be found either to Accuse or Condemn the Guilty; for nothing but the just temper of a Law can prevail, for a lasting Execution, the Penalty therefore was made, only to become incapable of the Magistracy, and the Senatorian Dignity, and to suffer a Pecuniary Fine.

The Year from the Building of Rome
687.

Before the Nativity of Christ. 64.

Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and Lucius Volcatius Tullus, *Consuls.*

THIS Year, *Tullus* the Consul holding the Consular Election, (g) *Publius Autronius Petus*, and *Publius Cornelius Sylla*, Nephew of the great Dictator *Sylla*, were declared Consuls Elect, but both of them Accused, and proved Guilty of Bribery, by *Lucius Aurelius Cotta*, and *Lucius Manlius Torquatus*; who were so far Rewarded for their Accusation, as to be declared Consuls in their stead.

The two first Elected Consuls, *Publius Autronius*, and *Publius Sylla*, deprived of that High and Honourable Employment, to which they were once design'd, did each of them hear and receive their Sen-

(g) Πούπλιος τε γὰρ Παῖτος, καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, ἀδελφοὶ δούς ἐκείνῳ τῷ πάντῳ Σύλλῃ, ὕπατοι τε ἀποδέχθαι τε, καὶ δεξιᾶν αἰοῦντες, ἐπιβέβησαν τῷ καταχρησθέντι, σφῶν Κόπῳ τε καὶ Τορκάτῳ Λυκίῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνηρέθον ἀπεκρίναι. Dio Cassius, Lib. 36. p. 24.

tence with very different Resentments. (h) *Autronius* got together a Company of Hectors, and other of the Rabble, who Tumultuously endeavoured to disturb the Court of Judicature; Invading it, not only by Crowding, but also by throwing stones into it. *Sylla* sought no other Aid, but what his own Modesty and Worth procured him. When *Autronius* was Condemned, he Caball'd, Talk'd, and Look'd as one enraged at the most Honourable States of the Empire; Angry with all good Men, and as an Enemy to his Countrey. *Sylla* was so Afflicted with the Publick Censure, that nothing of all his former Honours seemed remaining to him, except that Excellent Behaviour, which could not but still Powerfully retain them.

Catiline had at this time quitted his Province of *Africa*, that he might Capacitate himself to stand for the Consulship; but (i) being Accused and Condemned for Extortion in his late Government, he was prohibited to put up his Name: Nor was there then so many days remaining before the Election as the Law required for every Candidate to make profession of his Suit.

(h) *Quæ enim Autronii fuit causa? quæ Sullæ est? Ille ambitus judicium tollere, & disturbare, primum conflatu voluit gladiatorum, ac fugiti verum tumultu: Deinde, id quod vidimus omnes, lapidatione, atque concursu. Sulla, si sibi suus pudor, ac dignitas non prodesset nullum Auxilium requisivit. Ille damnatus ita se gerebat, non solum consiliis, & sermonibus, verum etiam aspectu, atque vultu, ut inimicus esse amplissimis ordinibus, infestus bonis omnibus, hostis patriæ videretur. Hæc se ita fractum illa calamitate, atque afflatum putavit, ut nihil sibi ex pristina dignitate superesse arbitraretur, nisi quod modestia retinisset. Cicer. Orat. pro P. Sull. Cap. 5.*

(i) *Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat petere consulatum; quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 18.*

(k) There

(k) There was also in the City another Person of Quality, *Cn. Piso*, Young, but of the boldest Resolutions, very Necessitous, and Factionous; him did Want and Debauchery, continually stir up to trouble the Common-wealth.

(k) These three, *Autronius*, *Catiline*, and *Piso*, agreed together at a Consult, upon the Nones (which is our fifth of *December*) this Year, that they would provide a Force in the Capitol, upon the Kalends (which are our first day of *January*) next ensuing, when the new Consuls, *Cotta* and *Torquatus*, entred upon their Office, which might Murder the Consuls, and seize upon their Ensigns: That then they would Govern the City, and *Piso* should be sent with an Army to possess himself of the two *Spain*: These two, were the Northern part, being then distinguished by the name of *Tarraconensis*, and the Southern, then called *Betica*: (l) But that part which was called *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, being not reduced to the Roman Empire till six Years after, when it was Subdued by *Julius Cæsar*, (from whence he came to Court both a Triumph and a Consulship,) is not here reckoned.

(k) *Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summe audaciæ, egens, factiosus; cum hoc Catilina & Autronius, circiter Nonas Decemb. consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januar. L. Cottam, & L. Torquatum Coss. interficere: ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ibid.*

(l) *Στρατεύουσας ἐπὶ Καλλιδικῆς καὶ Λυσιτανῆς, κρατῆσαι καὶ περιελθεῖν, ἄλχει τ' ἔξω θαλάσσης, τὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν ὑπακούοντα Ρωμαίοις ἔσθην καταστρεφόμενος. — ἔγνω τ' θείαμβρον ἀρεῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔχουσαι τὴν Πατρίαν. Plutarchi Cæsar. Edit. Franc. pag. 713.*

The Year from the Building of Rome
688.

Before the Nativity of Christ 63.

Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Lucius Manlius Torquatus, Consuls.

(m) **S**OME Discovery being made of the Plot, designed upon the Kalends of January, which is our New-years-day, the Conspirators were forced to adjour the Execution, to the Nones, [which are our fifth] of February, and by that time they were grown so strong, as to design, not only the Destruction of the Consuls, but of most of the Senators.

(n) *Catiline* was to give the Sign when they should fall on, which he did over-eagerly, before the Court was met, and the Armed Assistants ready: So that the Consuls, *Cotta* and *Torquatus*, having a strong Guard about them by Order of the Senate, they durst not stir, and the Design was disappointed.

(m) *Ed re cognita, rursus in Nonas Febr. Consilium cedit transfulerunt; Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque Senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum facit dare; eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 18.*

(n) Οὐ μὲν τοι καὶ ἠδυνήσαν τι δεῖναι. Διὰ τὸ ἦ τε ἐπὶ βελὴν περιμνησθῆναι, καὶ φεροντὶ τὸ τε Κόττα, καὶ τὸ Τορκυάτω παρὰ τῆς βελῆς δεῖναι. Dio Cassius. Lib. 36. pag. 24.

So

(o) So much of the Treason being apparent, the Senators presently proceeded to make an Edict against the Conspirators; but it was stopt by one of the Tribunes of the People, interceding with his irresistible Negative.

For understanding of this passage, it will be necessary to look back into the Constitutions of the Roman Government, And therein we find that at first this Imperial City was Ruled by Kings, with the Advice of a Senate. (p) The most Wise *Romulus*, so soon as ever he found his Common-wealth grown to some greatness, appointing an hundred Ancient Men for its Council, who, for their Authority, were called Fathers; for their Age, Senators.

In the 245th. Year from Building the City, which was the five hundred and sixth before Christ, succeeded the Consular Government, (q) in which nothing of Supream Régal Power was diminished; for the first Consuls had all the Royal Prerogatives and Ensigns.

(r) And the Reason why the *Romans* thus changed from Perpetual, to Annual Magistrates, from a single Person, to a Magistracy of two Colleagues, was, lest long Possession, or private Design should Corrupt the Authority.

(o) Δόγμα τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν γινώσκοντες διμαρχεῖς τῆς ὑπαντιόου. Ibid.

(p) *Auctis brevi viribus, hunc Rex sapientissimus statum reip. imposuit. --- Concilium reip. penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate patres, ab etate Senatus vocabantur.* L.Flor. de gest. Rom. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(q) *Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum Imperium Consulare factum est, quam quod diminutum, quidquam sit ex regia potestate, numeret.* T. Liv. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

(r) *Quippe ex perpetuo annum placuit ex singulari duplex, ne potestas solitudine vel morâ corrumperetur.* Flor. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

(s) But

(N) But the People were not long contented. So, for within Twenty Years after, their Monarchy ceased; they Armed themselves, and withdrew into the Holy Mount, nor could be prevailed upon to return, till they had obtained Tribunes of their own; (t) Whose Persons were to be held Sacred; and by this one word, (u) *Veto*, might controul the proceedings of the Consuls and Senate.

(w) Nor did they rest here, for in the three hundred and tenth Year after the City was Built, which was the four hundred and thirtieth before Christ, they got Tribunes, (Military, as they called them,) Elected, who entred upon the Supream Magistracy instead of Consuls. Not that these continued all along from thence to the time of *Catiline*, but were now and then clapt into the Consuls place, as the Popular Faction happened to be uneasy and Powerful. At present they had only their own places, interceding with the Tribunitian Negative, yet so much had they stretched their Authority, that notwithstanding what all the Fathers Consulted, the most Supream Legislative Power was got into the Assemblies of the People.

(f) *In sacrum montem plebs armata secessit, atque nec nisi Tribunos plebis impetrasset, revocata est.* Ibid. Cap. 23.

(t) *Concessumque est in conditiones, ut plebi sui Magistratus essent sacrosancti. Quibus Concilii latio adversus Consules esset.* Liv. Lib. 2. Cap. 33.

(u) *Vid.* Liv. Lib. 6. Cap. 35.

(w) *Anno trecentesimo decimo, quam urbs Roma condita erat, primum Tribuni militum, pro Consulibus Magistratum incunt.* Liv. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

This

This review, and this present juncture may inform any considerate Person, that Popular Power, as well as any other, may prove Destructive to the Common Safety. For who was it here that raked up the Embers of this Treason, but the Tribune of the People? And we shall find, that two Years after, when it brake out again, and raged, very near to the utter Destruction of the Common-wealth, this same Power did all along clog and prevent its suppression; nay, ungratefully punished the most Meritorious preserver of the Empire.

What would the impatient World have? Doth not History, Reason, and our continual Experience assure us, that there never are Changes in the Supreme Power, without being attended with certain and present Miseries? Who but Mad-men and Vicious would undertake at any time, to violate that, which by the Divine Providence is the Lawful Established Government?

(x) The Senate being not able to Decree any

(x) *Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῇ ἱσπανίᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ πραιποσίτῳ τῆς ἱσπανίας, ὅστις ἦν Ἰσπανίαν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἱσπανίᾳ, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱσπανίας, καὶ ὁ ἐνταῦθα ὅστις ἐπὶ τῇ ἱσπανίᾳ, ἀδύνατος τὴν αὐτὴν, ἐσφάλην. Dio, Cassius. Lib. 36. pag. 24.*

Piso in ceteriorem Hispaniam Quæstor pro prætoris missus est, adnitens Crasso; quod eum infestum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat, neque tamen Senatus Provinciam invitus dederat. Quippe sædum hominem à repub. procul abesse volebat: simul, quia boni complures præsidium in eo putabant, & jam tum potentia, Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in Provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ducabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati: Alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres, fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos: Nunquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia seve multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquimus. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 19.

thing

thing againſt the Conſpirators, and ſeeing *Piſo* ſtill as bold as ever, was glad to accept of the motion which *Cratſus* made, that he ſhould, under the ſpecious Title of a Government, be ſent Quaſtor into the hither *Spain*, as well to prevent any preſent diſturbance, as to deliver the Common-wealth from the Influence of a Perſon ſo vile and wicked.

There was alſo another Deſign in it: The Intereſt of *Gneſs Pompeius* then began to be formidable to the Common-wealth, which was very much abetted by the great Affection that Province of *Spain* retained for him. *Piſo* therefore being a known Enemy to *Pompey*, was ſent thither to deſtroy the too great Power he had there: (Which however he effected, at laſt he was himſelf deſtroyed, (which was as well) either by the Natives, who were not able to bear his Proud and Cruel Government, or by the Faithful Clients of *Pompey*, out of Love to their old Maſter.

(y) This which by ſome is called the former Conſpiracy, is by Authors a little otherwiſe repreſented; but as this appears the moſt probable truth, ſo neither ſhall the reſt be kept from the Reader's knowledge.

Dio Caſſius Reports poſitively, that *Publius Antonius Pictus*, and *Publius Cornelius Sylla*, the Great *Sylla's* Brothers Son, the Elected Conſuls, who were Convicted of Bribery, did both of them Conſpire to kill *Cotta* and *Tarquatinus*, who Accuſed them, and ſucceeded in their places. But the Excellent, and unſuſpected Behaviour of *Publius Sylla* afterwards, atteſted by *Cicero* himſelf, is a great Ev-

(y) *De ſuperiori conjuratione ſatis dictum. Ibid.*

Idem Dio Caſſium, ut ſupra, cit. Lib. 36. pag. 24.

dence

dence to prove him Innocent: And 'tis reasonable to believe, that *Autronius* and *Catiline* were to have been Consuls after the Plot had succeeded, for otherwise we find no Preferment assigned for that Arch-Traytor, which without doubt he did in the first place take care of.

(2) *Suetonius Tranquillus*, in the Life of *Julius Caesar*, represents other Great Persons concerned in it. That a few days before *Caesar* entred upon the Office of *Ædile*, (a) (which contained the care of all Publick Edifices, (from whence the name of it was derived) of keeping the Granaries, and management of all Publick Shews made for the Entertainment of the People,) he was suspected to Conspire with *Marcus Crassus*, who was of Consular Dignity; and with *Publius Sylla*, and *Lucius Autronius*, design'd Consuls, but Condemned of Bribery, to have set upon the Senate, in the beginning of the Year, and having Massacred whom they thought fit, *Crassus* should be made Dictator, *Caesar* Master of the Horse; and the Common-wealth being Arbitrarily Modell'd by them, the Consul-ships should be restored to *Sylla* and *Autronius*.

(2) Siquidem ante paucos dies, quam *Ædilitatem* iniret, venit in suspicionem conspirasse, cum *M. Crasso* Consulari, item *P. Sulla*, & *L. Autronio*, post designationem Consûlatus, ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni Senatûm adirentur: Et trucidatis, quos placitum esset, dictaturam *Crassus* intraderet, ipse ab eo *Magister Equitum* diceretur, consûlatusque ad arbitrium repub. *Sullæ* & *Autronio* Consûlatus restitueretur, *Suet. Tranq. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.*

(a) Suntuque *Ædiles* curatores Urbis, annonæ, ludorumque Solennium; illisque ad honoris amplioris gradum, is primus adscensus est. *Cicet. De Legib. Lib. 3. Cap. 3.*

(b) But

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17

(b) But *Suetonius* Living in the time of the Emperour *Hadrian*, who began his Reign in the 117th. Year after Christ, which was the 180th. after this present Year of the Conspiracy, (under whom he was Secretary, though behaving himself too unrespectfully towards the Empress *Sabina*, the Emperour turned him out of his Place) could have nothing of this of his own knowledge, and (c) therefore quotes his Authors for it, *Tanufius Geminus's* History, *Bibulus* his Edicts, with others: And *Cicero* in a certain Epistle to *Actius*, relating that *Cæsar* did confirm to himself in his Consulship that Absoluteness which he proposed when *Ædile*.

This last (who is much the best Author) may well be understood of his giving new life to the suppressed Faction of *Marinus*, whose Triumphal Effigies and Victories, *Cæsar* in Publick Shews exposed to the admiring City; (d) and upon which the Eminent *Lucatius Catulus* told him, that he did not so much undermine, as openly batter down the Govern-

(b) *Suetonio Tranquillo Epistolæ Magistro, multisque aliis qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injussu ejus, familiarium se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulica postulabat, successores dedit. Ælii Spartiani Adrianus Cæsar, Cap. 11.*

(c) *Meminerunt hujus conjurationis, Tanufius Geminus in Historia, M. Bibulus in Edictis, --- de hac significare videtur & Cicero in quadam ad Actium Epistola, referens Cæsarem in Consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo Ædilis cogitavit. Suet. ubi supra.*

(d) *Κάτλος λυστάτης ἀνὴρ εὐδοκίμων τότε μάλιστα Ρωμαίων, ἀναστὰς ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐπαφάτης αὐτὸ μνημονεύμενον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπονόμῳ (ἔφη) καὶ οὐκ ἀλλ' ἡδὴ μηχαναῖς αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. Plut. Cæf. pag. 710.*

ment. (e) Besides, *Suetonius* himself says, that this Conspiracy happened a few days before he was *Edile*. And therefore *Cicero's* Testimony is not to be stretcht to it, since it relates to the time when he held that Office.

(f) *Tanufius* affirms, that *Crassus's* Heart misgave him, either through pity, or fear, and so he appeared not on the day appointed for the Massacre; and therefore *Cæsar*, who (as he says) was to give the sign, omitted to do it. *Curio* adds, that the sign was to have been the letting his Gown off his shoulder.

(g) But these Authors were all *Cæsar's* known Enemies; *Bibulus*, his nameless Collegue in the Consulship, most eminently; whose Edicts *Plutarch* affirms were full of spite and scandal: Now, when Writers betray their slanderous resentments, they cannot be depended upon.

The Common Judgment of Men will not accept the Evidence of an Interested Party, nor common Reason regard it further than it is supported by a concurrent probability. Now, that *Cæsar* (who afterwards proved such a Generous Conquerour, and took such care that his Victories might not be stained

(e) *Siquidem ante paucos dies quam Edilitatem inires.* Suet. ut supra.

(f) *Tanufius* adjicit, *Crassum*, penitentia vel metu, diem cadi destinatum non obiisse, & idcirco ne *Cæsarem* quidem signum, quod ab eo dari convenerat, dedisse. Convenisse autem *Curio* ait, ut togam de humero deiceret. Suet. Jul. Cæs. Cap. 9.

(g) *Omnes hos Cæsaris inimicos fuisse, nemo est in istorum temporum Historia vel leviter versatus quin sciat.* Edicta *Bibuli*, illa ipsa sunt quorum in *Pompeio* *Plutarchus* meminit & vocat διαγνώματα βλασφημίας, ἔχοντα καὶ καλῆς ποίας. Causab. in loc.

by one drop of needlers Blood) should Conspire in that most Barbarous way of Massacring the Principal Senators, was both contrary to his own Nature, and the greatest contradiction to that Glory he designed.

The Year from the Building of Rome
689.

753
689
64

Before the Nativity of Christ. 62.

Lucius Julius Cæsar, and Caius Mar-
tius Figulus, Consuls.

THE Conspiracy had been smothered for above the compass of a twelve month, no Punishment inflicted upon the Plotters, and (b) *Catiline* himself so far from Suffering for his late Treason, that he was Acquitted of those old Murders and Cruelties he had committed under the Tyranny of *Sylla*, and was this Year Impeached for: But Villany is never Cured with Kindness, he continually grew worse, and prosecuted his Attempts, till they ended in his own (though not (as he design'd) the Common-wealths) Destruction.

(b) Ὁ Κατλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκαίνους αἰτίαν (πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗ ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἀποκτόνει) λαβὼν, ἀπελύθη. Καὶ οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χεῖρων τε πολὺ ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀπώλετο. Dio Cass. lib. 37. pag. 38.

Favour is indeed due to the Virtuous and Peaceable, they are Obliged thereby, and with Gratitude repay what they receive; but Mercy bestowed upon the base and vicious, cherishes their Venom, till like the Viprous Brood, they become ready for the Birth, and eat the way through those Bowels which gave them Life. This is confirm'd as much by Reason as Experience; for since it is the disposition of the Receiver that modifieth the Reception, that which makes the good better, makes the bad worse. The same Influences of Heaven nourish those Plants which sustain our Lives, and those Poisonous Weeds which have a Fatal contrariety to them.

(i) Some Authors account two distinct Conspiracies, one in the Consulship of *Lepidus* and *Tullus*, the other when *Cicero* and *Autronius* enjoyed that Dignity; but *Cicero* himself looks upon the latter only as the breaking out of their old Treason, which was conceived two Years before. Actors, Designs, and Circumstances may be changed, and yet the same Mischief go on; we call it the same Plague, though the first infected be all dead, and it rages every Month upon new Persons; which is the present Case.

(i) *Dux conjurationes abs te, Torquante, constituentur; una, quæ Lepido, & L. Tullo Coss. patre tuo Consule designata, facta esse dicitur: altera quæ me Consule. Cicero. Orat. pro Sulla. Cap. 4.*

Furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum, erupisse in meo Consulatu scripsi. Ibid. Cap. 24.

(k) For

(k) For about the Kalends of June (which are our first day of the Month) Catiline calls together all those, of whose Resolutions, and daring Courage he was well assured. (There were of the Senatorian Order, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Servius, and Publius (as was suspected) the Sons of Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius. Of the Equestrian Order, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Caius Cornelius. Besides many other Persons of the Free Towns and Colonies, who were very considerable at home.

(l) These he conveyed into the most retired part of his House, and taking care that none else might come near the Apartment, he proceeded to give them the Oath of Secrecy in a dreadful manner. (m) Tis said, Caius Antonius, (who was then aiming at the Consulship, and obtained it for the ensuing Year) was among them, and partaker of the direful Ceremony, which was thus performed.

(k) *igitur circiter Kal. Jun. --- in unum omnes convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo, & plurimum audaciæ inerat. Ed convenere Senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. & Ser. Sullæ Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius. Præterea, ex Equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius, ad hæc multi ex Colonis, & municipiis, domi nobiles.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 17.

(l) *In abditam partem ædium secessit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujusmodi habuit.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 20.

(m) *Καὶ τὸς γὰρ αἰετὺς αὐτῶν δυνατωτάτες (ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὕπατος) καὶ ἐς ἀδομίτων δεικνυομένων ἀνάγκην αἰσινᾶσαι καὶ δὲ πρὸς καταδύσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σπλάγχχνῳ αὐτῶν τα δεικνὰ ποιήσαι, ἐπειτα ἑσπλ. ἀρχίον αὐτὰ μέγα τῷ ἄλλων.* Dio Cass. Lib. 37. Cap. 48.

Catiline killed a Boy, and all Swearing over the reeking Entrails to be true to one another, they (if they did not together eat them up, as the words Translated by *Zylander*, affirm) (n) drank the Humane Blood carried round in Bowls. An Infernal Health, agreeable to such a Devilish Design, the most horrid Impiety, except that for the sake whereof they drank it. In which this seems to have been their Barbarous Policy, that the Conspirators once dipt in such an execrable Wickedness, might never after shrink at any thing that should be proposed to them.

(o) The general Agreement was, to Massacre the Senate, to Assassinate the present Consuls, to set the City on fire, rifle the Treasure-Chamber, and utterly to subvert the whole Common-wealth, perpetrating what never came into the Heart of *Hannibal* to wish.

(p) *Sallust* doth indeed say, that he could not come by any sufficient assurance of the truth of this horrid Humane Sacrifice, and that it was suspected to be an invention of *Cicero's* Friends, when he was overloaded with Envy for too severe a prosecution of this Conspiracy. It must therefore rest upon the Credit of the two fore-cited Authors, *Lucius Florus*, and

(n) *Additum est pignus conjurationis, sanguis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere: summum nefas, nisi amplius esset; propter quod biberunt.* Flor. Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(o) *Senatum confodere, consules trucidare, distringere incendius urbem; diripere aerarium, totam denique rempub. funditus tollere & quicquid nec Annibal videretur optasse.* Ibid.

(p) *Nonnulli fista & hec, & multa praterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui penas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap.

77.

Dio

Dio Cassius. But (q) *Sallust* himself adds this ensuing Oration of *Catiline* to the Conspirators at their secret Consult.

“IF your Valour and Fidelity had not been sufficiently known to me, this Opportunity had in vain presented it self, and we had in vain conceived any hope of Rule; for I would never trust Sloath and Vanity so far, as to exchange certain Possessions for Expectations built upon unsure Foundations: But by long Experience I am satisfied that you are Valiant and Faithful to my Designs, the assurance of which hath caused me to undertake the highest and most Noble Action: Your Fortunes and mine are imbarqued in the same Bottom, and, (which makes the most indissoluble Friendship) our Hate and Love have both the same Objects. What my Design is, you have all severally known; but that which daily most inflames my mind, is, the consideration of what sort of Life we are like to lead unless we vindicate our Liberty: For since the Government of the Common-wealth is fallen into a few mighty Mens hands, to them the subjected States are become Homages, to them the Provincial Governours pay their Tribute, to these Men the rest of the Nobles are but as the common sort, without any Authority, destitute of all Grandeur, and obnoxious to those Persons, to whom, if the Common-wealth were rightly ordered, we should be a Terror. These engross all Offices of Place and Power to themselves, or their dependents, and have left us nothing but Hazards and Repulses, Executions and Distresses. How long, my Valiant

(q) *Omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem hujuscemodi habuit.* Ibid. Cap. 20.

“ Friends, will ye suffer thus? Is it not better to dye
“ gloriously, than to draw out an Ignominious and
“ dishonourable Life amidst the Pride and scorn of
“ our Enemies, and at length dye miserable? ’Tis
“ but giving the onset, and all is our own; our Age
“ and Courage are vigorous, but they are grown old
“ in Years, and Riches: Let us then begin, and we
“ may be assured Victory is within our reach. What
“ Person that is not destitute of an Humane Soul,
“ can patiently see them abound in all manner of
“ Wealth, which they wantonly expend in making
“ Seas, and turning Mountains into Valleys, while
“ we want Necessaries? They enjoy their City and
“ Countrey Houses, whilst we have scarce a Cottage
“ to dwell in; they have their Statues and Embroi-
“ dered Beds, lavishing out their Money upon every
“ gay and costly Trifle; they possess bottomless stores
“ of Riches, which all the inventions of Expence are
“ not able to exhaust. We have nothing but want
“ at home, and debts abroad; at present miserable,
“ and hereafter like to be much more: What have
“ we left, but our poor Souls? Why do we not then
“ awaken them out of this Servile Lethargy? Be-
“ hold that, that Liberty, which we have so often
“ wished for, besides Riches, Renown, Glory, all
“ these are set before your Eyes, these are the Re-
“ wards which Fortune proposes to the Victorious.
“ The smalness of our Estates, the dangers we are
“ continually exposed to, the Neediness of our Con-
“ dition, and the abundant Spoils, and great Trea-
“ sure we shall gain by War, are certainly more
“ powerful to prevail than any thing I can say.

“ Take me either for your General, or your Fellow-
“ Souldier, I will not fail to seek your welfare with
“ the utmost endeavours both of my Mind and Body.

“ I

" I cannot but still hope to be Consul, and to enjoy
 " all these good things together with you, and nothing
 " can deceive me, unless you are more inclined to
 " Serve than to Command.

(r) He also gave them several other Encouragements, that the Common-wealth was altogether unprovided to oppose them; there was no Army in *Italy*, *Pompey* at the farthest extent of the Earth: That he himself had great hope of attaining the Consulship, and that the Senate was very careless and secure.

Then were the state and Rewards of the War proposed; That all Debts should be Cancelled, the Richest Persons proscribed, that Preferment, Plunder, and whatsoever Conquerours could desire, would fall into their hands. That their Assistance and Opportunities were very considerable. There was then in the hither *Spain* their great Friend *Piso*, (who was Murder'd about this time, but the News thereof not yet arrived at *Rome*.) In *Mauritania*, there was *Publius Silius Nucerinus*, with an Army, who was a Partner in the Counsels of the Conspiracy: And that if the next Year, *Caius Antonius* and he obtained the Consulship, they should have the greatest Advantage to begin.

(r) *Opprimunda reip. Consilium capit, in Italia nullus excitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; Ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes; Senatus nihil sane intentus: tuta, tranquillaque res omnes.--- Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, Sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia que bellum atque libido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Silium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium quem sibi Collegam fore speraret, cum eo consulem se initium agendi facturum. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 18. & 21.*

Wherefore

Wherefore *Catiline* and *Antonius* canvas'd for it to the utmost, not only with all the Lawful Interest they could make, but to the most apparent violation of those Laws, which were so lately enacted against Bribery. Moderate Punishments will not serve, for Persons that have such grand Designs afoot; then a probability of success is too weighty for an ordinary Penalty to over-balance.

(f) The Senate discerning this, made an additional Penalty of ten Years Banishment, to be undergone by every Person convicted of Bribing his Electors. (t) Which was principally promoted, and effected by *Cicero* in his white Gown, being at that time himself a Candidate.

While these things were transacting, (u) *Quintus Curius*, a Conspirator, of the Senatorian Order, but for his Debaucheries lately turned out by the Censors from that High Dignity, made an happy, though undesign'd Discovery of the Plot. He was a Man that

(f) Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, τὰν τε ὑπατείαν, καὶ τότε αἰτήσαντες, καὶ πᾶν ὃ, πὶ δῆποτε ἐνεδέχετο ὅπως ἀποδεχθῇ μηχανώμενα, δεῖκα ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν τὰ Κικέρωνος ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἐνδύοντες τοῖς ἐπηγεῖσι, τοῖς δὲ τῷ δεῖκασιμῷ τεταγμένοις προσνομαδεύσας. Dio Cass. lib. 37. p. 48.

(t) Vid. Fragmenta hujus orationis in togâ candidâ habitæ apud Aſcon.

(u) Sed in ea conjuratione, fuit *Q. Curius*, natus hæud obſcuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus: quem Censores Senatu probri gratiâ moverant. Huic homini non minor vilitas inerat, quam audacia; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quicquam pensi habebat.

Erat ei cum *Fulvia*, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. Cui cum minus gratius esset, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians, maria, montesque pollicere, minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret: Postremo, ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 23.

could

could not well keep secret any thing that he either heard or did, being tickled with a certain pleasure of Glorifying in all his Villanies. He had a great while kept for his Mifs, one Madam *Fulvia*, a Person of good Quality, though an infamous Whore. This Lady of late very much insulted over her Gallant, and began to scorn him, because his Estate failed, and his Presents were mean, but on a sudden she found him begin to promise Mountains of Gold, and to Hector at a much greater rate than he had ever done before.

(w) *Fulvia* admir'd what should be the cause of this change, and therefore wheedled him to reveal the whole Conspiracy to her; but whether it were that the Bloody and Barbarous Design was not agreeable to the softness of her temper, or that some little remainder of Nobility still Lived under the Tyranny of Vice, or some hopes of Profit might tempt her to it, (x) she resolved not to be guilty of Treason, by concealing so great a danger intended to the Commonwealth: Wherefore (suppressing the Name of her Author) she told to several what she had heard of *Catiline's* Conspiracy.

Thus do the Vitious entrap themselves, and by the repugnancy of their Lusts, necessitate their own Destruction. Treasons and Murders require Secrecy; Wine and Women betray them: Besides the overruling Providence of God to hasten it, Villany hath a Natural tendency to Ruine.

(w) *At Fulvia, insolentia Curii causâ cognitâ tale periculum reip. haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quomodo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ibid.*

(x) *Tanti sceleris indicium per Fulviam emerfit, vilissimum secretum, sed paracidiis innocens. Flor. lib. 4. cap. 1.*

The

The Discourse of this Conspiracy quickly flew about the City, and made an happy alteration in the sentiment of many with respect to the Consular Election, which drew very near: They would by no means trust *Catiline* in that High Authority; for though there was then no Proof, but only common Rumour of a Plot, yet it had such a Foundation of probability, that they put by a Person so very much suspected.

Caius Antonius was Chosen, being a more Maskerade Conspirator, and so less liable to the Exceptions of undiscerning Men; but that which saved all, was, the preferring so excellent a Person as *Marcus Tullius Cicero* to be his Collegue. And this was brought to pass meerly by the glimmering day-break of the Conspiracy, as our Excellent Historian, *Sallust*, tells us.

(y) "This was the cause that first stirred up the
"Minds of Men to confer the Consulship upon *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, for most of the Nobility were inflamed with an Envy against him, as if a Person, though Eminent, yet of so late appearance in the Common-wealth, would debase so high an Honour by the enjoyment of it: But now that danger came so near, Pride and Envy were laid aside.

The Honour which was thus confer'd upon *Cicero* in this Consulship, is by himself thus expressed in one of his Orations to the People.

(y) *Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea plerique nobilitas invidia aestuabat, & quasi pollui consulatum credebatur, si eum, quamvis egregium, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia, atque superbia post fuere. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 23.*

(z) This

(2) This was exceeding great (O *Quirites*) that I should be the first of those that were lately risen, who for these many Years have been dignified with the Supream Honour. "That the first time I stood for it, you were pleased to confer it in the most Glorious and Magnificent manner: For at my Election, 'twas not the written Roll that silently discovered your Choice, but your loud Acclamations testified your desire and affections to me. Not the summing up the Poll, but the view gave it; not the Report of Officers, but the whole Roman People with one Voice Proclaimed me Consul.

(2) *Est illud amplissimum Quirites, quod hoc honore, ex novis hominibus primum me, multis post annis, affecistis: Quod prima petitione, quod anno meo (viz. 43. ætatis) sed tamen magnificentius, atque ornatius esse illo nihil potest, quod meis comitiis non tabellam vindicem tacitæ libertatis, sed vocem vivam præ vobis indicem vestrarum erga me voluntatum, ac studiorum tulistis. Itaque me non extrema tribus suffragiorum, sed primi illi vestri concursus, neque singula voces præconum, sed una voce universus populus Romanus, Consulem declaravit. Cicero. Orat. de leg. Agrar. Secund. Cap. Secund.*

*The Year from the Building of Rome
690.*

Before the Birth of Christ 61.

*Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Caius
Antonius, Consuls.*

(a) **W**HAT the state of the Common-wealth was, when these Consuls at *New-years-day* entred upon the Government, *Cicero* himself tells us; that it was full of Care and Fear, that there was nothing bad or dangerous, but good Men dreaded, and ill Men were in hopes would come to pass: Counsels contrary to the Established Government, repugnant to the Publick Peace, were continually entred upon. Fidelity taken from Courts of Judicature, not by the blow of any present Calamity, but by Trouble and Suspicion: New Authorities sought after, such as were both extraordinary and illegal.

(a) *Ego qualem Calendis Januarii acceperim rempub. Quirites, intelligo: Plenam sollicitudinis, plenam timoris: in qua nihil erat mali, nihil adversi quod non boni metuerent, improbi expectarent. Omnia turbulenta consilia contra hunc reipublice statum, & contra vestrum otium partim iniri, partim nobis consulibus designatis inita esse dicebantur. Sublata erat de foro fides, non ictu aliquo novae calamitatis, sed suspitione, ac perturbatione iudiciorum, infirmatione rerum judicatarum: novae dominationes; extraordinariae; non imperia sed regna quæri putabantur. Cic. de lege Agrar. Secund. Cap. Tertio.*

To prevent all dangers, nothing could be more prevalent than a great and virtuous behaviour of those entrusted with the Lawful Power: *Cicero* was acted by a generous thirst after Glory and the Publick Good, which made him sufficiently vigilant and courageous: But *Antonius*, a private favourer of the Conspiracy, could not be expected to promote, if he would tolerate the endeavours of his fellow Consul. And here the Common-wealth had been ruined if those two Colleagues had clash'd at this time in so high a Magistracy: (b) For though *Antonius* had no great abilities of his own to do either good or hurt, yet he must needs give a great access of strength to which soever side he took.

There is therefore perpetual Honour due to *Cicero*, not only for the great Service he himself did, (c) but for that Prudent Correspondence he held all along with *Antonius*, by which that other Consul (being partly overcome with the Honour and Trust the Common-wealth had reposed in him, and (d) partly hired by *Cicero*'s resigning his great Province of *Macedonia* to him) was moderated and sustained in so good a temper, that he went quietly along with him in the preservation of the Publick Interest.

(b) 'Ου μὴν ἀλλὰ βυλόμεν ὁ Κατρίνας ἰσχυρὸν περὶ παλαβὴν ὁρμητήριον, ὑπατίαν μίττει καὶ λαμπερὸς ἢ ἢ ἐλπίσιν, ὡς Γαίω Ἀντωνίω συνυπατίσων, ἀνδρὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μί, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ ἐέλπον οὔτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἡγεμονικῶ, πρὸς δὴ καὶ δ' ἄγοντος ἐτέρῃ δυνάμει εἰσμένε. Plutarch. Cicero, pag. 866.

(c) In quo collega sustinendo, atque moderando, si meam in illum indulgentiam, conjunctam cum summa custodia reip, laudare verè solebatis. Cicer. Orat. pro Sextio, cap. 3.

(d) Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pacifice provinciae perpulerat, ne contra temp. sentiret. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 26.

(e) Another great happiness was, that *Publius Sextius*, who was *Quæstor*, or Principal Officer under *Antonius*, Faithfully assisted *Cicero* in all his Counsels; and Cashier'd *Marcus Aulanus* a Tribune, or Colonel of a Regiment, *Caius Marcellus*, with several others, who were of *Catilines* Party, but had got Commissions under *Antony*; thereby preserving *Capua*, which had otherwise fallen into their hands.

(f) This Settlement of the Magistracy stunn'd the Conspirators, especially the Populace, who now knew not how to stir: However *Catiline's* Rage was not in the least asswaged, but by all means he promotes his Designs, and strengthens his Interest. To this purpose he calls in the Assistance of both Sexes, makes *Manlius* General of one, as *Sempronia* was his Principal Agent among the other.

(g) *Manlius* was an Old Expert Commander in *Sylla's* Army, and had profusely spent a very large Estate, which made him long for a return of like Troubles, that he might repair his decayed Fortunes.

(e) *Quæstor hic C. Antonii, collegæ mei, judices, fuit forte; sed societate consiliorum meus. Idem, venit cum exercitu Capuam, & inde M. Aulanum, Tribunum militum Antonii, Capua præcipitem ejecit. Idemque C. Marcellum exterminandum ex illa urbe curavit. Cicero. Orat. pro P. Sextio, Cap. 3. & 4.*

(f) *Quod factum primò populares conjurationis concusserat: neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; sed indies plura agitare. Eâ tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 24.*

(g) *Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Φαισέλει, ἐς αὖς οἱ σαπῶται αὐτῷ συνελθόντο, ἰδίως τῆς Μαλλίου, ᾧ τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειροτάτῳ (μετὰ γὰρ ᾧ τῷ Σύλλῃ λοχαγῶν ἐστρατεύετο) καὶ πλουσίᾳ παρώπτητον ὄν, σύμπαντα χροῖν ὅσα τότε οὐκ ἦσαν, καί τινες πῦρ πολλὰ ὄντα, κακῶς καταναλώσας, ἐτέρων οὐκ ὁμοίων ἔργων ἐπιδόμην.*

Dio Cass. lib. 37. pag. 49.

Him *Catiline* sends into *Hetruria*, which is the most Western part of *Italy*, to a Colony called *Fæsulæ*, very near the place where the City of *Florence* now stands, and (b) where the *Apennine* Mountains and *Rubicon* Anciently Separated *Italy* from the *Cisalpine Gaule*.

(i) The Inhabitants of this Countrey had been brought to great Poverty by Sequestrations and Plunderings in the time of *Sylla*; and now the wants they were at present under, and the Injuries they had formerly sustained, made them very desirous of a Change. The Old Souldiers of *Sylla* had been planted among them, who by Lust and Luxury having spent all that by Rapine they had got together, were no less eager than they; so that *Manlius* his Sollicitations had great success among them, as might be well expected among Souldiers of Fortune, and an Oppressed People: Both Enemies, yet both Friends in any Cause that offers them common Advantage.

(h) Τῇ δὲ Τυρρηνίᾳ παρεστρέβληται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑωμερὸς ἢ Ὀμβρικῇ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπυρνίνων λαβῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πειραιῶν μίχει τὸ Ἀδελφ. --- πρὸς γὰρ τέρας τὸς τόπους εἰσι τὰ δεῖα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς περὶ τὸν καὶ τῆς Καλτικῆς κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύτῃ μέρος. Καὶ πρὸς μεταπθέντων πολλὰς τῆς ἡγεμονίας Περδύτρον μὲν γὰρ τὸν Αἰσὶν ἐπιστῆναι δεῖον πάλιν δὲ τῇ Ρυβίνων καὶ τῇ Ρυβίνων. Strabo. Lib. 5. pag. 227.

(i) *Interea* Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ; novarum rerum cupidam; quod Sullæ dominatione, agris, bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea, latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 28.

D

(k) Septimius,

(k) *Septimius*, another Military Officer, was sent into the Countrey of the *Piceni*, in the Neighbourhood of *Fasula*, extended upon the *Adriatick* Sea; its Cities lay between *Ariminum* & (l) *Ancona*, the latter of which gives the present Name of *Marca Anconitana* to it.

Caius Julius was also dispatch'd into *Apulia*, which lay next upon the *Adriatick*, and still retains much of its Old Name, being the Modern *Puglia*. Many more were dispersed into other places, as every Mans Interest led him.

(m) But *Fasula* was the Principal Rendezvous; and therefore all the Money that *Catiline* and his Friends either had, or could be Trusted for, was sent thither to *Manlius* the Commander in Chief.

Nor did the Grand Conspirator think fit to neglect the Feminine Intrigues, their Power might ensueble more than Force could subdue. (n) Accordingly, he insinuates into all those Ladies, who by making themselves common, had got too great an Influence upon the Publick Interest, but especially those who by the decay of Beauty, and continuance of Luxury, were brought into a Necessity of Advancing his Designs.

(k) *Igitur C. Manlium Fasulas, atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 27.

(l) *Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Πικαντίνη μετὰ τὰς ἑξ. Ὀμβρικῶν πόλεις τὰς μετὰ τὸν Ἀεσμίνα καὶ Ἀγκώνος.* Strabo. Lib. 5. pag. 240.

(m) *Pecuniam, sua, aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam, Fasulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 24.

(n) *Mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant: post, ubi aetas tantummodo quaesui, neque luxuriae modum fecerant, eas aliquam grande conflagraverant.* Ibid.

(o) By

(o) By these did *Catiline* hope to draw in all of the Rascal Party that had not yet been retainers to him; to get the City Fixed, to have their Husbands brought over to him, or kill'd out of the way.

(p) The most Eminent of these was *Sempronia*, of good Birth and Beauty, Happy enough at home in her Husband and Children, accomplish'd both in *Greek* and *Latine* Learning: She could sing well, and dance better than was necessary for a Modest Woman; but nothing was less valued by her than Virtue and Reputation. She was equally Prodigal of her Fame and Money, till she at length arrived at a most pernicious Impudence, fit for the present execrable purposes.

(q) But his most esteemed City-strength lay in the Consul *Antonius*, (r) whom he did not doubt, but (if he could get himself Elected to the Consulship for the ensuing Year) he should be able to make an easie tool of. He had also *Publius Lentulus* the

(o) *Per eas si Catilina credebatur posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere. Ibid.*

(p) *Sed in iis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe vitilis audacia facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit: Literis Graecis & Latinis doctissima, psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probè: multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus; atque pudicitia fuit. Pecunia, an fama minus parceret, haud facile discerneres.---Luxuria atque inopia praecipua abierat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 25.*

(q) *Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὃς τε Ἰππάρχος καὶ ὁ Λεντούλιος ὁ Πούπλιος, ὃ μὲν τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπέσων, (ἐξεσθῆναι γὰρ ὁπῶς τὴν βελόαν ἀναλάβη). Dio Cass. Lib. 37. pag. 48, 49.*

(r) *Catilina nihilominus in proximum annum Consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum, Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 26.*

Prætor his fast Friend, having been turned out of the Senate after he had born the Consular Office, and was now got to be Prætor, in hopes of being restor'd again; (S) as was the Custom for those who design'd to be re-elected into that Honourable Assembly.

To Countermine all these Intrigues, the Vigilant *Cicero* kept continual Correspondence with the Lady *Fulvia*, and by many Rich Presents engaged her to reveal to him all the Counsels of the Conspiracy. Some have suspected that the Consul did condescend to the Familiarity of her Vices, but as to that, neither *Plutarch* the Excellent and Impartial Writer of his Life, nor any other of our Authors mention the least suspicion of it. Others may admire that *Quintus Curius* giving her such constant and speedy Intelligence, (*) so Publickly bragged of by *Cicero*, was not suspected to betray them: But then if we consider that they had all of them their *Fulvia's*, and that their Vicious intercourses gave every one of them the same private Opportunities of Discovery, they could not well trace it out; and it would have dissolv'd their mutual Trust, vainly to Impeach one another.

(t) The Consular Election for the following Year approached, and *Catiline* again professes himself a Candidate for it. Wherefore *Cicero*, to encumber him with the greater Difficulties, Enacts (if it were not compleated the Year before) or at least Proclaims

(f) Τότε ὃ στρατηγῶν τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα. *Plutar. Cicero.* pag. 868.

(*) *Cicero. Orat. in Cat. prima. cap. 2, 3.*

(t) Ἐδόξε τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τι ὑπατείαν καὶ τότε αἰτήσαντες, καὶ πάντες, πὶ δὴ πᾶσι ἐνεδέχετο ὅπως ἀποδεχθῇ μηχαναμένῃ, δέχεσθαι τῶν συγῶν, καὶ κικαρώσθαι ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἐν ἀγαντος, τοῖς ἐπιπλείοις τοῖς ὅτι τὸ δεκάμην πεταγμένοις ἀεστομοδιότησαι. *Dio Cass. Lib. 37. pag. 48.*

the Penalty of Ten Years Banishment if any Person were guilty of Bribery in Elections; which sufficiently prevented him: For the Vicious having nothing desirable in themselves, People will not without a great deal of Money and Debauchery be persuaded to choose those, that are like to cut their Throats who chose them.

(u) *Catiline* finding this so particularly designed against him, and so probable to take effect, provides a Party to be ready at the time and place of the Election, that should Murder *Cicero* and the Principal Persons present, and immediately Create him Consul.

But this was not effected, for *Cicero*'s constant Intelligencer quickly acquainted him with the Design, however the Consul was in great difficulty what to do: His own particular Care could no longer preserve the City, now the Conspirators came on so fast; and to lay open all to the Senate, before he had any Evidence that he could handsomly and advantageously produce against so considerable a party of the greatest Citizens, he thought might prove only a matter of Envy to him, and an Occasion for them to sham it off.

(w) However, the Necessity of Affairs so requiring, he doth just before the day of Election, which was appointed to be XII Cal. Nov. our 21st of October, acquaint the Senate, that to his knowledge there were not only private Designs laid at home, but that before VI Cal. Nov. our 27th of

(u) Τὸ τ' οὖν καὶ ἐκείνῳ δι' αὐτὸν (ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ἦν) ἐγνωσθαι νομίσας, ἐπιχείρησι μὲν, χεῖρα πρὸς παρεσκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ ἄλλους πλείους τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἢ ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθῆ, φονέσσαι. Ibid.

(w) *Cicer. in Cat. Orat. primā. cap 3.*

October, Caius Manlius would openly appear in Arms: (x) Upon which, the Decree past for putting off the Election, that these things might be first Treated of in the Senate.

(y) The day after, in a full House, Cicero urged Catiline with an Accusation of his whole Conspiracy, and commanded him to Answer what was alledged against him.

Catiline was so far from being concerned to clear himself, that he boldly affirm'd there were two several Bodies in the Common-wealth, one weak with a crazy Head, the other strong without any Head at all; but that this latter, which had well deserved of him, should never want an Head whilst he lived. (z) which cunningly tending to raise a distinct Interest between the Senate and the People, exceedingly perplexed Cicero.

(x) Tum igitur his rebus auditis, oneministis fieri Senatus consultum, referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in Senatu agere possemus. Cicer. Orat. pro L. Murenna. cap. 25.

(y) Itaque postridi, frequenti Senatu, Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus jussi, si quid vellet, quae ad me allata essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, duo corpora esse reipublica, unum debile, infirmo capite: Alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, cum ita de se meritorium esset, caput, se vivo, non desuturum. Cicer. pro L. Murenna. cap. 25.

(z) Τέτων τις τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνιχνυμένων ὡς αὐτὸ, μᾶλλον ὁ Κράτων ἔδειξεν. Plut. Cicer. pag. 867.

(a) Nor could he get those things to pass which he proposed to the Senate; there being a general suspicion that the Accusations were not true, and that the Conspirators were for some private grudges falsely Impeached.

The Election therefore was not put off any longer, (b) but Cicero knowing what a design there was upon him, came attended into the Field with a strong Guard of Faithful and Valiant Men, covering his Breast and Belly with a piece of broad conspicuous Armour, not so much to prevent Catiline (who would rather aim at his Head or Throat) as to make the People know in what fear and danger their Consul was; that they might, as they Honestly did, get together for his Defence and Assistance.

(c) Thus he repress all those Forces which Catiline and Antonius brought along with them, and stifled all their Endeavours; for the (d) People with great concern surrounded him, and at last by a Ma-

(a) Ἐπειδὴ τε οὐκ ἐπιστε σφᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν πρὸς ἡζῆς (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἐγγυαλῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἰχθυῶν καταφύγεσθαι ἢ ἀνδρῶν ὑποτάξιν) ἐπορεύθη. Dio Cass. Lib. 37. pag. 48.

(b) His rebus commotus, & quod homines sum cum conspiratos cum gladiis in campum deduci à Catilina sciebat, descendit in campum cum firmissimo presidio fortissimorum virorum, & cum illa lata, insignique lorica, non quæ me tegeret (etenim sciebat Catilinam non latus, non ventrem, sed caput, & collum solere petere) verum ut omnes boni animadverterent, & cum in metu, & periculo Consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem, presidiumque meum concurrerent. Cicer, pro L. Muræa. cap. 26.

(c) Ego testus presidio firmo amicorum, Catilinæ tum & Antonii copias, & conatum repressi. Cicer. pro P. Sulla. cap. 23.

(d) Ὅτι δὲ ἡνανέκτων καὶ συναρτίοντο περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις τὸν μὲν Κατρίναν αὐτῆς ἐξέβαλον, εἰλαγοντο δὲ Σιλάρῳ ὑπατον, καὶ Μερῆναν. Plut. Cicer. pag. 867.

jority of Suffrages, putting by *Catiline*, chose *Decius Julius Silanus*, and *Caius Muræna*, who were presently declared Consuls Elect.

(e) *Catiline* was so enraged at this Repulse from the Consulship, that he never left prosecuting his Conspiracy with the greatest diligence; turns every stone to make some Mischief in the City, provides for Firing it, lays wait for the Consul, distributes Armed Men into the most Advantageous places, carries about with him a desperate Weapon, exhorts all his Associates to be in continual readiness, and to the greatest fatigue exercised all those endowments which Nature had bestowed either upon his Body or Mind.

(f) The Souldiers in *Etruria* now began to draw together in a Body, and the appointed time of their

(e) *Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: Consuli insidias tendere: parare incendia: opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti, paratique essent: dies, noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque in-somniis, neque labore fatigari.* Sall. Bell. Cat. cap. 27.

(f) Οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἦδη τῷ Καπλίνῳ τῷ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ συνερχομένων, καὶ τῷ αἰσχυρῶντος πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἡμέρας ἐγγύς ἔσσης, ἤκουσεν ὅτι τὴν Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι Ρωμαίων, Μάρκος τε Κεράσος, καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκελλος, καὶ Σκιπίων Μπέτρελος. Κόψαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας, καὶ χαλίσαντες τὸν θυρῶν, ἐκάλειραν ἐπιγείραι, καὶ πρῶτον Κικέρωνι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τοῖόνδε, τῷ Κεράσῳ μετὰ δειπνῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ θυρῶν, ὡς δὴ πνέοντες ἀνθρώπων κομιδείσας ἀγνώσκουσιν ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγυγμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ Κεράσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. ἦν μόνον ἀναγνὼς ὁ Κεράσος, ὡς ἔφραξε τὰ γράμματα φόρον γεννησόμενον πλὴν διὰ Καπλίναν, καὶ παρήκει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ὑπερβλήν, τὰς ἄλλας δὲ κατέλυσε, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἐνδὺς πρὸς τὸν Κικέρωνα, πληγὴς ὡς τὸ δεινὸν, καὶ τὸ αἰσχυρῶντος ἀποδύμενος ἦν ἔχει διὰ ὁλίαν τὴν Καπλίναν. Βυλευσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, αὐτῷ ἡμέρα βυλὴν συνήγαγε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσας ἀπέδωκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπιτεταλμένα, κατέλυσε φανερώς ἀναγνώσας; πᾶσαι δ' ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπιβυλὴν φράζουσας. *Plus. Cicero. pag. 868.*

rising

rising upon VI Kal. Nov. our 27th. of October, approached; but in the interim one Night very late, the most Principal Persons of the City came to Cicero's House, they were *Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, *Scipio Metellus*. The Porter being knock'd up, and commanded to tell the Consul who were there, they presently had admission: *Crassus* informed *Cicero* that there was a Letter sent to him from an unknown Person, which he received since Supper, acquainting him of a great Massacre intended by *Catiline*, and therefore Advising him immediately to retire out of the City. That there were several Letters to other Persons in the same Pacquet, all which he brought unopened along with him; for being struck with an apprehension of so great a danger, he was desirous to repair to him, and deliver the rest into his Hands; which he did both to clear himself from all that suspicion his former Acquaintance with *Catiline* might have raised, and to make the best Provision against the designed Treason.

Cicero having Advised with them, Summoned the Senate to appear next Morning by break of day, and there delivering the Letters to every Person, as they were particularly directed, Commanded that they should be read publickly; which being done, they were all found to contain Advice of the same Design.

(g) Then, as was usual upon great Emergencies, a Decree passed, that the Consuls take care the Com-

(g) *Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, Senatus decrevit, ut darent operam Consules, ne quid respub. Detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per Senatum, more Romano, Magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios, atque cives: domi, militieque imperium, atque judicium summum habere, aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum Consuli jus est. Sall. Bell. Cat. cap. 29.*

mon-

mon-wealth should receive no hurt, which did imply the greatest Power (according to the Roman Custom) given by the Senate to them: To raise an Army, to wage War, by all means to restrain Allies or Citizens: To have Sovereign Command, and Judicature both Foreign and Domestick: Otherwise none of these were in the Consuls Power without an Edict from the People.

(b) Presently there was such strict Watch and Ward kept throughout the whole City, that the Conspirators could not get the least Opportunity either to Fire any part of it, or to make any disturbance, which necessitated them to so great a quiet, that they began again to make the People believe it was only a Plot of Cicero's own inventing to destroy some of the Ancient Nobility, which he could not pretend to, and ever bore a grudge against.

(i) But then it happened that *Lucius Senius*, a Senator, received Letters from *Fæstula*, which he recited Publickly in the Senate, importing that *Caius Manlius* had with a great Multitude taken up Arms upon VI Cal. Nov. our 27th. of October. There were also many other Informations brought, as is usual at such a time; some gave an Account of Arms carried to them, and Musters which they held, that

(h) Τὸν τὴν τῶ δόγματι προσεγγεῖται τὸ διὰ φερνίδος αὐτὸς ἔλιν ὥστε μνηστῆρας ἀποτελεῖν τῶ δημοσίῳ συμβῆναι; παρρησιᾷ δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ φερνίδος πολλὰ ῥόδι καταστάς, τὰ μὲν ἐν τῶ ἀσπί ἐσχάτ' ἐνεωτεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ ὅτι συκοφαντία τὸν Κικέρωνα διαβληθῆναι. *Dio Cassi. lib. 37. pag. 49.*

(i) Post paucos dies L. Senius Senator in Senatu literas recitavit, quas Fæstulia allatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine ante diem VI Kal. Nov. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant: alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capue, atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. *Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 30.*

in *Capua*, and *Apulia* a new Servile War was beginning to be stirred up. Others related several Prodiges and Portentous Occurrences, by which (k) (saith the Judicious *Plutarch*) the Divinity was pleased to discover those things which were a doing: They are true Indications in respect of Men, though not of so particular application as to Convict such an Eminent and Powerful a Person as *Catiline*.

(l) Upon this, another Decree of the Senate passed, that *Q. Marcius Rex* should be sent with an Army to *Fasula*, *Q. Metellus Creticus* into *Apulia*; Persons of great Worth, but by the Interest of some few, who exposed to Sale both the Honours and dishonours of the Common-wealth, denied Solemnizing those Triumphs which were due to them.

The Prætors, *Q. Pompeius Rufus* was sent to *Capua*, *Q. Metellus Celer* into the *Picene* Countrey, each of them permitted to raise Men, and provide every thing as Occasion should require.

(k) Ἐδοξε δὲ καὶ τὸ διαμύνειν ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ παρασημασμοῖς καὶ καρανοῖς καὶ φασμασιν. αἱ δ' αὖτ' ἀνθρώπων μυνύουσιν, ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἦσαν, ὅπως αὖτ' εἰς ψαλγὸν ἀποχρῶσαι κατ' ἀνδρὸς ἐσθλῆς καὶ δυναμένης, καὶ τῆς Κατρίνας. *Plut. Cicer.* pag. 867.

(l) Igitur Senati decreto *Q. Marcius Rex* *Fasulas*, *Q. Metellus Creticus* in *Apuliam*, circumque ea loca missi sunt. Hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta, atque inhonesta, vendere mos erat. Sed Prætores *Q. Pompeius Rufus* *Capuam*, *Q. Metellus Celer* in agrum *Picenum*: hisque permissum est, uti pro tempore, atque periculo exercitum compararent. *Sall. Bell. Cat. cap. 30.*

(m) 'Twas

(m) 'Twas also Decreed, That if any Person would come in, and make Discovery of this Conspiracy against the Common-wealth, if he was a Servant, he should have his Freedom, and an hundred Sester-tia (* which of our Money are seven hundred eighty one pounds five shillings) if he were already a Freeman, he should have his Pardon and two hundred Sestertia, being 1562 *l.* 5 *s.*

(n) That all the Schools of Gladiators should break up, and be dispersed about the Free Towns of Italy, according as they were best able to maintain them: That the strictest Guards should be kept thorough the City, and the lesser Magistrates be themselves upon the Watch.

By these Transactions were the People filled with the dread of the Plot, and the face of the City was changed, from the highest Jollity and Wantonness which a serene Peace had fostered, they fell into a sudden consternation; they did not know what place

(m) *Ad hoc, si quis indicasset de conjuratione, que contra remp. facta erat, præmium decreverant, servo libertatem & H. S. C. Libero impunitatem ejus rei, & H. S. C. G. Ibid.*

* Dr. Hackwel's Value of the Roman Sesterces, compared to the English Coin; prefixed to his Apology.

(n) *Itemque decrevere, uti familie gladiatorie Capuanæ, & in cætera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem Vigiliæ haberentur, eisque minores magistratus præessent. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata facies urbis erat: ex summa lætitia, atque læscivia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia inuasit, festinare, trepidare: Neque loco, neque homini cuiquam satis credere: neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere: suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus pro reip. magnitudine belli timor insolitus inceserat, afflictare sese; manus supplices ad Cælum tendere; miserari parvos liberos, rogare; omnia pavere: superbia, atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. Sall. Bell. Cat. cap. 30, 31.*

or what Man to trust, they could neither tell how to think of War, nor could they expect Peace. Every one took measure of the dangers by his own Fears: But especially the Women, (who in the present greatness of the *Roman* Empire, were wont only to hear of Wars in the farthest distant Nations; and see the Triumphs at home) were now possess'd with the greatest Amazement: They lifted up their Hands to Heaven, wept over their Young Children, pray'd and trembled, forsook their Ornaments and delicacies, as being suddenly to be destroyed with their Ruin'd Countrey.

For all this, *Catiline's* Cruel Rage was not in the least abated, he thought to brazen out all by the most hardened Impudence and Dissimulation: (o) Notwithstanding all the Accusations that were against him, he (as most Innocent) was willing to appear before any Tribunal, he was ready for a Tryal, he would deliver himself up to the Custody of *Cicero* himself (which the Consul refusing) he went and dwelt with *Metellus*, then Prætor, and of good Reputation, that none might think he affected the least disturbance. * Though *Cicero* says, that *Metellus* also denied him, and he was at last received by *Marcus Marcellus*.

(ο) Τα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐπισώκετο, καὶ εἰς αὐτοῖς γράφειν πρὸς Καπλίναν παρεκίνησεν. Καὶ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐτοιμῶς, ὥς καὶ ἀπὸ χρηστῶν δὲ συνειδότες, εἰδέσκειτο, πρὸς τε τὴν δίκην εἰσὶν ἡτοιμαζέτο, καὶ πρὸς Κικέρωνα αὐτὴν παρὲν αὐτὸν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ φύγῃ παρὰ παρὲν αὐτοῦ, μὴ παρεκδραμεῖν δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ φρεσὶν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μιτρίλλῳ πρὸς εὐχρηστὶν τὸ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκυσίως ἐπορεύετο, ἵνα ὡς ἡλικία ὑποπτευθεῖ νευροτέκων τὴν μέγιστον, ἀνὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συνωμοτῶν ἰσχυρόντι προσλαβῇ. *Dio Cass. Lib. 37. pag. 49.*

* *Cicero. Orat. in Cat. l. Cap. 8.*

Which

Which of themsoever it was, without being misled, he (p) meets the Principal Conspirators upon the day after the Nones, being our sixth of November, at the House of Porcius Laeca very late in the Night: (q) And there chides them for their Sloth and Cowardize; sets before them the danger of more Discoveries, which would continually be made if they did delay any longer, and what success they were like to have by a speedy execution: That all things were ready, and he (r) very much desired to be gone to the Army: That if Cicero was but removed out of the way, there would be nothing else to stop their proceedings. Being all at a stand, filled both with Rage and Fear, Lucius Vargunteius, a Senator, and Caius Cornelius, a Roman Knight, promise that Night (which then grew very near Morning) with

(p) *Quid tandem de illa nocte dicet cum inter saltarios ad M. Leccam, nocte ea, quæ consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novemb. me Consule, Catilinæ denunciatione convemis? Cicero pro P. Sulla cap. 18.*

(q) *Ὅς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀποχάραται, ἀποβάντες αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς ἐς δίκην πρὸς συλλεγεῖν αὐ. Καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Μίτλλον ἴδρα τε πρὸς αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐπιπίμπουσι σφίσι δὴ τε τῇ ἀπαμείβῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μαλακίᾳ, καὶ τὸν τε διεξελθὼν δαδὶ τε ποίουντο φασγάνους, καὶ ὅτων τεύξονται καταρδύσαντες, αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπιπρῶτος καὶ παρρώξυνεν, ὡς δ' ἀποχάραται δύο πρὸς ἐς τε τὴν τε Κικέρωνος δίκην ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσθλὴν χάνταυδα αὐτὸν φονεύσας. Dio Cass. Lib. 37. pag. 49, 50.*

(r) *Seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum officere. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius, Eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Vargunteius Senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, & de improvisi domi sue impetratum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit, quantum periculum Consuli impendebat, propterea per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabat, enunciat. Ita illi janua prohibita, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 27, 28.*

some

some Armed Men, they would, under pretence of a Visit, get Access to Cicero, and stab him in his own House; but *Quintus Curius* did by *Fulvia* presently discover the Treachery to Cicero, whereupon Admittance was denied them, and so base an Assassination in vain undertaken.

For all this, *Catiline* ventures the next day into the Senate, which was held (/) in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, whom the Consul *M. Tullius Cicero* (t) received with this Excellent Oration, the first of those that were written, and are still extant against *Catiline*.

“ **H**OW long, *Catiline*, will you abuse our Pa-
 “ tience? How long shall this your boldness
 “ beat us off? Whither at length will your unbridled
 “ Impudence arrive? Are the extraordinary Guards
 “ of the Palace nothing to you? The strict Watch
 “ of the City, nothing? The Fears of the People,
 “ nothing? Doth the concourse of all good Men,
 “ this strong and Sacred place in which the Senate is
 “ met, the Presence of this Assembly, nothing move
 “ you? Do not you see that your Counsels are de-
 “ tected? Don’t you perceive that the belief of your
 “ Conspiracy is written upon the Countenances of
 “ most here? Do you think us ignorant of what you
 “ did last Night? What the Night before? Where
 “ you met? Whom you called together? What Re-
 “ sult you came to? O Times! O Manners! The

(/) Περωδὼν δὲ ὁ Κικέρων, ἐκέλευε τὴν αὐχλήντων εἰς τὴν
 τῶ Σπυρίου Διὸς ἱερῶν, ὅν Σπύριος Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυ-
 μενον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀδῆς, πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνίστατον. *Plut.*
Cicer. pag. 368.

(t) *Sum M. Tullius Consul orationem habuit luculentam, at-
 qua utilem reipub. quam postea scriptam edidit. Sall. Bell. Cat.*
Cap. 31.

“ Senate

"Senate knows all this, the Consul sees it, and yet
 "the Traytor lives. Lives! Ay, and comes into the
 "Senate, partakes of the Publick Counsel, Observes,
 "and Marks out with his Eye which of us he designs
 "to Murder. But we think our selves Couragious
 "enough, and to have given sufficient Satisfaction to
 "the Common-wealth, if we can but avoid his Rage
 "and Weapons. No, this must not be all: You de-
 "served, *Catiline*, long ago to have been put to
 "death by the Consular Command, to have fallen
 "into the destruction which you had been so diligently
 "preparing for us all. Did that Excellent Person,
 "*Publius Scipio* the Chief Priest, being yet a Private
 "Man, kill *Tiberius Gracchus*, who made but a small
 "disturbance? And shall we Consuls permit *Catiline*
 "who design'd to fill the whole Earth with slaugh-
 "ter and destruction, to go unpunished? I need not
 "insist on that Ancient President of *Quintus Servi-*
 "*lius Abala*, who slew with his own Hand *Sp. Me-*
 "*lius*, for but designing to alter the Government.
 "This, this was the Ancient Valour in the Common
 "wealth, that our Heroick Ancestors would suppress
 "a pernicious Citizen with more severe Punishments
 "than the fiercest Enemy. We have a Decree for-
 "cible and weighty, already made against you, *Ca-*
 "*tiline*: The Common-wealth doth not want Coun-
 "sel, nor this State Authority: No, no, I speak plainly,
 "we the Consuls are deficient.

2. "It was formerly Decreed by the Senate, that
 "*Lucius Opimius* the Consul should take care that
 "the Common-wealth might be Preserved; imme-
 "diately upon which he caused *Caius Gracchus*, de-
 "scended of a good Family, to be Executed, being
 "but suspected of Seditious Practices: So also *M. Ful-*
 "*sius*, who was of Consular Dignity, with his
 "Children;

Children, were put to death. Another president for
 this we have, when by a like Decree, the Common-
 wealth was committed to *Gaius Marius*, and *Lucius*
Valerius the Consuls; and was there one Day passed,
 before death and the just vengeance of the Com-
 mon-wealth overtook *Lucius Saturninus* Tribune of
 the People, and *Caius Servilius* the Prætor: Yet is
 this the Twentieth Day that we have permitted the
 Power of these Laws and Examples to languish.
 We have a Decree conformable to these presidents up-
 on Record, which yet lies dormant in the Rolls ru-
 sting in its own Sheath, by which 'tis requisite for
 you *Catiline* to die: Yet you still live, and live, not
 to repent of, but to increase your impudence. I de-
 sire, O Conscript Fathers, to be merciful, but not
 slothful in so great dangers of the Common-wealth:
 And now it is that I condemn my self of backward-
 ness and neglect. A Rebellion is raised in *Italy* up-
 on the Confines of *Etruria*, against the State; the
 Number of the Enemies increase daily: Yet doth
 the Commander of all these Rebel-forces, the Head
 of their Conspiracy, remain within the City Walls,
 and contrive our destruction in the very Senate. If
 I should now seize you *Catiline*, and command you
 to be put to death, I doubt not but all good men
 would look upon my proceedings as too slow; not as
 too severe and cruel. But I will not do it yet; I will
 stay a little longer, and will then deliver you to exe-
 cution, (and not till then) when there shall be no
 Man however corrupt, extravagant, and like your
 self, that will not acknowledge it a just deed. As
 long as there is any so stupid or impudent; as to
 stand up for your defence you may live: But it shall
 be so as you now live, compassed about with such
 Guards, as you may not be able to effect any
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‘ thing against the publick Safety. Many Eyes will
 ‘ be upon you, many Ears imployed to hearken out
 ‘ your designs, and not a few (as they have always
 ‘ done) will still continue to observe your most secret
 ‘ machinations.

3. ‘ What is it O *Catiline* that you can expect,
 ‘ seeing neither the darkness of the Night can obscure
 ‘ your horrid Designs, or keep your Seditious meetings
 ‘ secret; neither the most retired place of your Houses
 ‘ conceal your Consultations, and traiterous agree-
 ‘ ments? Seeing all of them are plainly detected;
 ‘ all discovered: For once be advised by me; change
 ‘ your Mind, take other Measures; blot the black
 ‘ Characters of Ruine, Murder, and Rapine out of
 ‘ your Mind: We have you every way: Your Coun-
 ‘ sels, and intents are all perfectly disclosed; which if
 ‘ you please you might now with me recognize: Don’t
 ‘ you remember that upon XII *Kal. Novem.* I infor-
 ‘ med the Senate that on a certain Day, *viz.* before
 ‘ the VI. *Kal. Nov.* C. *Manlius* that Prodigy of Im-
 ‘ pudence, and your Creature, would be in Arms:
 ‘ Did that intelligence fail me, *Catiline*? I did not
 ‘ only discover so great, so cruel, so incredible an
 ‘ enterprize, but that which is more to be admired, I ex-
 ‘ actly told the very Day. I said the same in the Senate,
 ‘ that you intended the Massacre of the Nobility up-
 ‘ on V. *Kal. Nov.* when many of the chief men of
 ‘ the City should be gone from *Rome*, not so much for
 ‘ their own safety as to defeat your Designs. Can you
 ‘ deny that when you saw your self hemm’d in with
 ‘ Guards, by my appointment, set to observe you;
 ‘ so that you could effect nothing against the publick
 ‘ safety, and perceiving that many were gone out of
 ‘ the City, you said to some of your fellow Conspira-
 ‘ tors, that you would be content with the slaughter
 ‘ of

of us who staid behind. What? when you expected that *Præneste* should on the *Calends* of *November* be surprized in the Night time, did you then know that it was fortified and defended with strength sufficient by my care? There is none of your debates, resolutions, and most secret intentions, which I am not punctually informed of, and do not perfectly understand.

4. Call to mind with me what was done t'other Night, and you will soon perceiue that I am more diligent and watchful to preserve then you are to destroy the State. I say that the night before last, you went with a Company of arm'd *Rusticians* (for I will discover all) into the House of *M. Lecca*, that there were also congregated several of your Associates in this wickedness; dare you deny this? Or will you say nothing? I will prove every Tittle, if you have the Confidence to contradict it. For I see several in the Senate who were there with you. O immortal Powers! What an Age do we live in? How is the Common-wealth governed? In what City are we. Here, even here among our selves, O Conscript Fathers, in this most Sacred, most Grave, and most Wise Assembly of the whole Earth, are those now sitting who Plot my death and the destruction of us all, intend to raze this City, and in it the Empire of the whole World. These I the Consul behold here, and ask their Counsel for the Common-wealth: Those who deserved Death long ago I have not yet impeached. You were, O *Catiline*, at *Lecca's* that Night; you then distributed *Italy* among your selves, allotted to every one some place over which he should præside; chose out some to leave behind at *Rome*, others to take with you; divided the City into several Parts for carrying on

the Fire : Determined immediatly to go hence ; and declared that nothing remained to be effected in order to your departure, but my Death. For which, you soon found two *Roman* Knights, who to ease you of that care, offered themselves, undertaking to murder me the same Night in my Bed. Your consult was scarce broken up, before I was made acquainted with these resolves : Whereupon I put my self into a posture of defence and fortified my House : refused those entrance who came thither about break of Day, to give me the good morrow from you : Having told several very considerable Persons what time such would come, and what their Errand was.

5. 'Therefore I will thus advise you, *Catiline*, go on as you have begun ; but you must withdraw from the City : The Gates are open : None will compel your stay. The *Manlian* Forces have too long wanted their General ; go to them, but, be sure, carry your whole party, (at least as many as you can) with you, purge the City. If I once get these Walls between us, I shall be freed of my greatest fears. I will allow you so much advantage, but that you should be any longer with us, I cannot bear, cannot suffer, cannot endure. Let us give our most hearty thanks to the immortal Gods, especially to *Jupiter Stator* the Defender and Patron of this most ancient City, for that we have so often escaped so dreadful, so horrible, so dangerous, and so pestilent a Conspiracy. *The whole safety of the Common-wealth ought not to be often hazarded upon the account of one Man.* As long as your designs were laid against me being only Consul Elect, I did not defend my self with the
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'publick Arms, but by my own private care. When
'at this last Consular Election you plotted to kill me
'being then Consul, together with your competitors I
'defeated all your nefarious endeavours by the help and
'assistance of my Friends without any Publick stirs ;
'as often as you made attempts upon my Life, so often
'I opposed you with my own Strength : Although I
'forefaw that my fall would give a great blow to the
'Common-wealth. But now you openly seek the
'ruine of the whole State, design to destroy the
'Temples of the immortal Gods, demolish this City,
'murder the Citizens, and lay wast all *Italy* : There-
fore seeing I cannot at present act according as (by
'ancient presidents of the Empire) I might justly do ;
'I will do that which has less of severity, but is far
'more conducing to the Publick good. If I cause
'you to be executed, the Seeds of your Sedition will
'yet remain in the midst of us ; but if (as I have
'often exhorted you) you go away, your Comrades,
'the great and noisom Sink of the Common-wealth,
'will be drain'd out of the City. What is it that
'you stick at, *Catiline* ? Are you unwilling to do
'what you had before determined, now I command
'it ? The Consul requires an Enemy to withdraw
'out of the City : Do you enquire whether I com-
'mand you into Exile ? I enjoin it not, but I would
'persuade you to it.

6. 'For what is it, O *Catiline*, that you can now
'delight in at *Rome* ? Where there is not one Person
'except such profligate Wretches as are of your own
'Gang, but avoid and hate you. What Mark of pri-
'vate Wickedness is there which is not conspicuously
'branded on you ? Doth not all infamy cleave to your
'Name ? What Lust ever escaped your Eye ? What
'Villany your Hand ? What Vice is there that hath

'not seized your whole Body? What Youth, by you
 'drawn into Vice, whom you have not hardned in
 'impudence, drench'd in Lust, and inur'd to Mur-
 'der? And even lately upon the Death of your first
 'Wife, did not you slay your own Son, and heap one
 'incredible Villany upon another to make way for
 'your second Nuptials? But I shall pass by this,
 'lest I should disgrace this City by mentioning such
 'an horrid Impiety to have been in it, and not to have
 'been sufficiently punished: I omit to mention the
 'ruines of your Estate, which now hang over you,
 'and will quite crush you by the next *Ides*. I will
 'only insist upon such things as concern, not your
 'own private Debaucheries, and filthiness, not your
 'straits and wants, but the safety and welfare of the
 'Common-wealth, and every one here present. Can
 'you take any content in living here? Can this Air be
 'pleasant to you, when you know that there is none
 'of us ignorant, that you came to the Election upon
 'the Day before the *Calends* of *January*, when *Lepi-*
 '*dus* and *Tullus* were Consuls, armed with a Dart,
 'ready to slay the Consuls and Chief men of the Ci-
 'ty? And that you were not prevented by any fear,
 'or terrour occasioned by the horridness of the Fact,
 '(no, there was no room for that in your desperate
 'Breast,) but by the good fortune of the Common-
 'wealth? But I shall insist no longer on these actions,
 'they are known publickly and are still fresh in every
 'ones Memory. How many times did you endeavour
 'to take away my Life when I was Consul Elect? How
 'often when I was actually in that Office? How ma-
 'ny of your attempts which seemed inevitable, have
 'I frustrated, how often have I put by the very fatal
 'thrust? There are none of your contrivances, pur-
 'poses, or machinations, of which I have not a perfect
 'know-

' knowledge ; yet will you not cease to meditate and
' endeavour our destruction. How often hath your
' Dagger been wrested out of your Hands ? How
' often hath it fall'n, as it were slipt out of your Hands
' by chance ? Yet can you not be without it : What Cere-
' monies you have used in the Consecration of it I
' know not, but sure I am, you esteem your self un-
' der a necessity to murder the Consul therewith.

7. ' Now what sort of life do you think to lead ?
' For I speak now not as inflamed with hatred which
' you have deserved, but as moved with pity, which
' you have no way merited. You came just now into
' the Senate : Who was there, in so great a Company,
' among so many of your Friends and intimate Ac-
' quaintance, that afforded you a Salutation ? If the
' like never happened in the memory of Man ; what
' need is there of an open reprimand, seeing you are
' already condemned by great silence ? What was
' the cause that at your entrance, these Seats were left
' empty ? That all those of consular Dignity, mark'd
' out for destruction by you, as soon as you sat down
' removed from the places which were near you, as in-
' fectious ? How do you think to bear this ? Certainly
' if my servants did thus avoid me, as all these worthy
' Citizens do you, I should believe it high time to leave
' my House : and do you think the City a place for
' you ? If I were so shrewdly suspected and attainted by
' my Countrey-men as you are, I should choose rather
' to go into a voluntary Exile, than abide the hateful
' and estranged looks of my fellow-Citizens. How
' can you be so bold as to continue in the presence of
' those to whom you are so offensive, who are so di-
' sturbed at your sight ; and whose hate your own
' Conscience tells you is most justly fix'd upon you ?
' If your Parents shunn'd and hated you, and would

be reconcil'd upon no Terms, I believe you would hasten out of their sight: Now your Countrey the common Parent of us all abhors you, and looks up on you as designing nothing, but unnaturally to destroy her, yet will you neither stand in aw of their Authority, obey their commands, nor fear their force. And now, *Catiline*, she thus seems silently to plead with you: No Crime hath been publicly committed of late years in which you have not had an Hand; no wickedness, but of your contriving: You have been continually murdering your fellow Citizens, ruining and destroying your Companions, yet are you unpunished; you have not only set your self to neglect, but also to break and over-throw the Laws. All your past offences, though scarce tolerable, I bore as well as possibly I could; but now I am wholly endangered for your sake alone; No designs laid against me, but what have their rise from *Catiline*; this is not to be endured. Depart therefore and set me free, from my fears; that if they have a just Foundation, I may not be oppressed, if they are only groundless Suspicions I may be eased of them.

8. Now then that your Countrey doth thus expostulate with you, ought she not to obtain her request although she use no force? What? will you plead, that to avoid Suspicion you proffered to reside in the House of *M. Lepidus*? by whom being refused, you had the impudence to come to me, and desire that I would keep you in my House. When I had told you that I could not be safe under the Roof of the same House with you, seeing I was in such great danger from your being within the Walls of the same City; you went to *Q. Metellus* the Prætor, who also rejected you: Then did you resort to your old Friend, honest *M. Marcellus*, whom you could not

'not but think could diligently keep, carefully ob-
 'serve, very courageously punish you. But how far
 'can he be from Bonds, and Imprisonment, who be-
 'ing conscious of his own guilt seeks to be taken into
 'Custody? Seeing affairs stand thus, and you cannot
 'with any content remain here, is it not your best
 'way, *Catiline*, to go to some other Countrey, and de-
 'votè that life which is thus delivered from condign
 'Punishment, to Exile and Solitude? Move it you
 'say, to the Senate, and if they command you into
 'Exile, then you declare you will be gone. I will
 'not propose that, it being contrary to my manner, yet
 'will I do so much, that you may perceive what their
 'judgment is: Go out of the City, *Catiline*, deliver
 'the Common-wealth from their fears: if you expect
 'I should speak plainer, depart into Exile: What
 'think you now, *Catiline*? Do you take notice of,
 'do you consider the silence of all present? They
 'are of the same mind, none contradict the proposàl
 'Why do you expect that they should speak to you,
 'when you may perceive their Minds by their silence?
 'Should I speak thus to this brave Youth *P. Sextius*
 'or to the excellent *M. Marcellus*, the Senate would
 'certainly, and might justly lay hands on Me,
 'though Consul, in this very place. But by not con-
 'tradicting they approve of what I advise you to;
 'by suffering, they desire it, by silence they pro-
 'claim their assent. Neither are the Senators, (whose
 'judgment you pretend to value, but whose lives
 'you cheaply devote to ruine) only of this Mind,
 'the Roman Knights also, honest and brave men, the
 'whole Body of the Citizens who attend the Senate
 'discover themselves: They get together, advise,
 'threaten: As you may have observed. These I
 'can scarce with-hold from assaulting, and tearing
 'you

‘you in pieces, yet can I persuade them to bring you
 ‘on your way when you depart from this place
 ‘(which you once thought to destroy and ruine,) un-
 ‘to the City Gates.

9. ‘But what is it I am arguing? as if any thing
 ‘could move you! as if you could be brought to
 ‘take better courses: is it possible to persuade you to
 ‘think of departing hence? Would the gods gave
 ‘you such a Mind! Yet I foresee that, if moved by
 ‘my word, you should go into Exile, how great a
 ‘Tempest of Envy is like to fall upon us, which,
 ‘though it be at present diverted by a sense of your
 ‘wickedness, may, when Posterity hath forgot that,
 ‘fall upon my head. Yet doth this private calamity
 ‘nothing move me, so it be not accompanied with
 ‘publick loss. It is in vain to exhort you to consider
 ‘the heinousness of your Vices, to fear the just pu-
 ‘nishments of the Laws, and yield to the necessities
 ‘of the Common-wealth; for you are such an one,
 ‘*Catiline*, as neither shame can withhold from filthy
 ‘deeds, nor fear deter from desperate undertakings,
 ‘neither can Reason moderate your unreasonable fu-
 ‘ry. Therefore (as I have oft advised you) depart;
 ‘and if you will fasten your envy upon me, whom
 ‘you account, your most mortal Enemy, go into Exile,
 ‘then shall I be scarce able to stem the common cen-
 ‘sures; if you do go; and if it be by the command of the
 ‘Consul alone, I shall very hardly support the weight
 ‘of that envy. But if you had rather make an accessi-
 ‘on to my glory, go forth with the rest of your de-
 ‘bauched, bloody Associates; convey your self to
 ‘*Maulius*; encourage those miserable Citizens; se-
 ‘parate your self from all good men; raise War in
 ‘the Heart of your own Countrey; triumph in your
 ‘Plunderings, and Robberies, that you may not be
 ‘ac-

'accounted thrust out by me among Strangers, but
'may seem willingly to have retired to your own
'party. But why do I thus persuade? When I know
'you have sent all things requisite before hand, and
'how many armed men stay for you at the *Aurelian*
'*forum*? When I know the Day is agreed upon be-
'tween you and *Manlius*, and by you the Silver
'Eagle (which I trust shall be fatal both to you, and
'your accomplices, which at your House, the
'Sanctuary of all your Wickedness was consecrated) is
'also sent? Would you any longer want that which
'you were wont to adore, when you went forth to
'your Murders? Before whose Altars you were wont
'to lift up your right Hand, ready to be imbrued in
'the Blood of the Citizens?

10. 'At length go thither, where your unbridled
'fury hath been long hurrying you; yet are you not
'at all griev'd but much delighted. This madness
'you imbib'd with your Nature, nourished by con-
'senting to it, and fortune by favouring you in it hath
'made it much greater; Peace was never like to please
'you, nor could you love War except it were wicked
'and unjust. You have got together a Rout of de-
'perate miscreants, vile Persons, who have not only
'lost their Estates, but are deprived of all hopes of a
'restitut. Among these in what compleat joys and
'pleasures may you carouse, when in all your number
'you shall not have so much as the restraining look
'of one good Man? To this sort of life you have
'injur'd your self, by your continual laborious Vil-
'lanies: You have taken up your Lodging upon the
'Ground, not meerly to intrigue an Adultery, but to
'perpetrate a Murder: You are accustomed to watch,
'not only to descry the security of abused Husbands,
'but also to prey upon their Goods, when you have
'slain

'slain them. You have an opportunity to shew your
 'great fortitude in enduring Hunger, Cold, and
 'Want, which you may sufficiently feel in a short
 'time: I did by putting you beside the Consulship
 'gain this Point, that all your fury will be spent in
 'Banishment to contrive our ruine; but you will ne-
 'ver have those opportunities to effect it, which you
 'must have enjoyed, had you carried the Election:
 'And that your rising will be rather termed Plundering
 'than War.

I I. 'Now, O Conscript Fathers! consider diligent-
 'ly, and revolve in your minds what I say, while I
 'endeavour to answer an Objection my Coun-
 'treys might make against me; if my Countrey
 '(which is ever dearer to me than my life) if all
 'Italy, if the whole Common-wealth should thus ac-
 'cost me: *What hast thou done O M. Tullius? Him*
 '*whom thou hast found the publick Enemy, the Head*
 '*of the Conspiracy, who thou knowest, hath Listed*
 '*broken Citizens and the meanest Vassals; and is the*
 '*Author of all our Dangers; hast thou thus sent him*
 '*away out of the City, that he might be the better en-*
 '*abled to come against it? Why did you not secure him in*
 '*the strongest Fetters? Deliver him to be put to Death,*
 '*and inflict the justest, that is, the greatest punishment up-*
 '*on him? What could hinder you? not want of presidents;*
 '*for how often have Traiterous Citizens been killed by*
 '*private men? Did the Laws concerning punishment of*
 '*Roman Citizens obstruct it? Never was any suffered*
 '*to enjoy the Priviledge of a Roman Citizen, being*
 '*convicted of Treason. Do you stand in fear of the envy*
 '*of Posterity? You do very worthily indeed, and gratef-
 'ly requite the Roman People who raised you, a private*
 '*Man of mean Quality of a sudden through all the Degrees*
 '*of Honour to the top of Government, if for fear of Envy*

or Danger, you neglect the publick safety of the Citizens? But if you have any reason to fear Envy, is that which ariseth from fortitude, and strictness, or that from sloth and timorousness most formidable? When Italy is wasted, and destroyed with War, the Houses demolish'd and Cities burnt, Do you think you will not then be more hated?

12. Give me leave now to answer in a few words that Sacred Voice and those who are of this Opinion. If I thought, O Conscript Fathers, that it were best for the Common-wealth, the Traytor should not live an Hour; for if the bravest men, and most famous Citizens, were so far from defiling themselves with the Blood of *Saturninus*, of the *Gracchi*, of *Flaccus* and several others, that they got reputation by destroying them; certainly I have no cause to fear the Censure of Posterity for putting to Death this grand parricide. But granting that I should incur their utmost Envy; it hath always been my Maxim, that *Envy procur'd by Virtue, is Glory and not Envy.* But there are many among us, who either do not see our Dangers, or else dissemble what they see; who by soft Censures nourish the hopes of *Catiline*, and by not believing, feed the Infant Conspiracy; Who, followed by many well meaning, but unobserving men, if I should have acted severely against *Catiline* would cry out of Cruel, and Arbitrary proceedings. But if he go to the Camp of *Manlius*, as he did intend, none will be so foolish as not evidently to perceive a Conspiracy, none so wicked as to deny it. So that if we now cut off this one Head, it will be no more but only a short suppression, not an utter extirpation of the mischief. But if he departs, and takes his pack'd Company of profligate; necessitous Villains
along

‘along with him, not only this so ripe a Plot will be
 ‘defeated, but the very Stock and Original of all
 ‘publick evils will be eradicated and destroyed.

13. ‘We have been a long time, O Conscript Fa-
 ‘thers, perplext with these treasonable Designs, and
 ‘lurking Snares, but (however it comes to pass) all
 ‘these old Intrigues, Impieties, and Treasons, are
 ‘now come to Maturity in the time of my Con-
 ‘sulship. If we take off this chief of the Conspi-
 ‘racy only, we may indeed flatter our selves with a
 ‘temporary cure of it, but the poisonous infection
 ‘will still remain, as it were in the Veins and Bowels
 ‘of the Common-wealth. As Persons in an high
 ‘Feaver, seem at first refresh’d with a draught of coo-
 ‘ling Water, but the Disease doth by and by rage,
 ‘and burn the more, so this distemper in the Com-
 ‘mon-wealth may seem a little abated by his punish-
 ‘ment, but soon recovering strength, will break forth
 ‘more violently in those who yet remain. Therefore,
 ‘O Conscript Fathers, let these infected Persons, with-
 ‘draw from the Society of those who are yet sound,
 ‘let the City Walls, as I have oft desired, be once
 ‘between us, let all the Traytors herd together, that
 ‘they may at length cease to attempt the Murder of
 ‘the Consul in his own House, may no longer beset
 ‘the Prætors Judicature, or with their Swords sur-
 ‘round the Senate, nor prepare Fire-balls for burning
 ‘the City. Let it now appear, as if it were written
 ‘in his Forehead, what every Citizen thinks of the
 ‘Common-wealth. ‘Methinks, I can promise my
 ‘self, and you, O Conscript Fathers, such an indefa-
 ‘tigable diligence in us Consuls, so prevalent Au-
 ‘thority in you, so great a Virtue and Valour in the
 ‘Roman Knights, and so unanimous an Agreement
 ‘of all good men, that *Catiline* being once gone, all
 ‘his

'his designs will appear unmask'd, defeated, and re-
'veng'd. With these Omens, go *Catiline* to that im-
'pious and horrid War; go, and may it be to the
'safety of the Common-wealth, but to thy ruine, and
'to the ruine of all those who have united themselves
'to thee in this Treason. And now O *Jupiter*, whose
'Temple as well as this City was Consecrated by Ro-
'mulus, and whom we truly call the Saviour of this
'Place and Empire; exclude him and his Associates,
'from thy Altars, and all other Temples, from the
'Houses, and Walls of this City, from the lives and
'fortunes of the Citizens: All the Enemies of good
'men, Traytors to their Countrey, destroyers of Ita-
'ly, Covenanted and Associated among themselves
'by their Villanies, do thou prosecute Living and Dead
'with thine eternal punishments.

(u) So soon as the Consul was fate down, *Catiline*
begins (as he was well accomplish'd for the purpose)
to palliate and dissemble all that had been spoken
against him; he with a submissive Voice and Counte-
nance humbly intreats the Fathers, that they would

(u) *Sed ubi ille affedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimu-*
landa omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici, postulare a patribus,
nequid de se temere crederent; Ea familia ortum, ita se ab ado-
lescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberent: ne
existimarent, sibi Patricio homini, cujus i. f. ius, atque majo-
rum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re-
publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullus, inquilinus ci-
vis urbis Romæ. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 31. Κατρίλινας δ' αὖθις ἐς
ὑβριν τῶν ἐλομένων ἐπέσκωπῆεν, ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους,
καινὸν ὀνομαζῶν (καλεῖσι δ' ὕψι τῆς ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν
προγόνων γνωσκίμους) ἐς δ' ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως, Ἰγκυκίλιον;
τῶν ῥήμασι καλεῖσιν τὰς ἐνοικῶντας ἐν ἀλλοθείαις οἰκίας. Αρ-
pian, Alexan. Lib. 2. de Bell. Civil.

not too rashly credit whatsoever had been said of him; that it was by no means probable; he, who was Born of so ancient a Family, so well educated, had such fair hopes before him; that he, a Patrician, who by himself and his Ancestors had deserved so much of the Roman People, should now want the destruction of the Common-wealth; while *M. Tullius* a stranger an Inmate of t'other day, pretended so zealously to preserve it.

(w) Proceeding to revile the Consul, many of the Fathers cried out, He was an Enemy and a Traitor: Whereupon *Catiline* said as in an heat, 'that he 'was circumvented by his Enemies, and if there 'was a flame he would extinguish it with his own 'ruine. Then returning to his House, he consider'd how unsuccessful his attempts had been against the Consul, how well guarded the City was, so that it would be impossible to Fire any part of it: And therefore resolves before the Consular Forces were increased to unite with his Army in the Tents of *Manlius*.

(u) *Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet obstrepere omnes; hostem, atque parricidam vocare, tum ille furibundus: quoniam quidem circumventus, (inquit) ab inimicis praeceptus agor, incendium meum ruinam extinguam. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit, ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiae Consul procedebant, & ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augens ac priusquam legionis scriberentur, multa ante capere, quae bello usui forent; nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est; Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 32.*

(x) In

(x) In the City he left *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and others, to whom (being assured of their resolutions) he recommends all his Affairs, particularly that they would strengthen the Interests of the Party, perfect some Plot against the Consul, have things in readiness for Massacre and Firing : Promising as soon as possible, to draw towards them with a great Army.

(y) Having got together about Three hundred Armed men, he, accompanied with them, left the City about Midnight; and as if he had been an authorized General, carried his Lictors, and his Axes with him, that arriving at the Rendezvous of *Fesulae*, he might display the imperial Ensigns.

(z) But before this, *C. Manlius* finding that the Forces of *Q. Marcius Rex* drew near, sends some of his Company to him, with this or the like following Remonstrance.

(*) 'WE call God and Man to witness, O General! that we have taken up Arms, neither against our Countrey, nor to do mischief to any Person, but to defend our selves from injuries; who be-

(x) *Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat; quibus rebus possent, operis factionis confirmant, insidias Consuli maturent; caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent: sese propediem cum magno exercitu, ad urbem accessurum, Ibid.*

(y) 'Ο μέν ἐν Καλιλίνας ἐνθὺ ἐξελθὼν μὴδ' ἑταροσίων ὀπλοφόρων, καὶ πεισιστάμενος αὐτῷ παροτρύνει, ὡς ἀρχόντι, καὶ πλεκεῖς, καὶ σημαίας ἐπαράμενος, πρὸς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει. Pluta. Cicer. pag. 868.

(z) *Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Q. Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujusmodi.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 33.

(*) Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quod periculum aliis faceremus, sed ut corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent, &c. Ibid.

'ing made poor and miserable by the cruelty of Usurers,
 'are most of us deprived of our Countrey, all of us of
 'our Goods and Reputation. Nor is there left to any of
 'us, that which is every ones Birthright, the benefit of
 'the Law, nor freedom for our Persons when we have lost
 'our Estates, such are the exactions of the Creditors,
 'and the severity of the Prætor. Our Ancestors, being
 'compassionate to the *Roman* People, have often
 'succoured their necessities, by favourable Decrees.
 'And of late, even in our Memory, when Debts
 'were grown oppressive, then by the advice of all
 'good men a fourth part was deemed satisfacto-
 'ry, a Farthing to be paid for a Penny. Oftentimes
 'Common People either stirr'd up with a desire of
 'Government, or driven to it by the pride of Magi-
 'strates, withdrew their obedience from the Fathers;
 'but we neither seek Empire nor Riches : (which
 'among Mortal men are the only causes of War and
 'contention :) all we ask for is our Liberty which no
 'good Man would lose, except he lose his life also;
 'we conjure you and the Senate, now to consult
 'the good of undone Citizens, restore us the
 'Protection of Law, which the injustice of the Prætor
 'hath deprived us of; and that you would not re-
 'duce us to a necessity, that we should seek by what
 'means we may best avenge our Blood, and perish.

(a) To this *Marcus* answered, That if they had
 any thing to desire of the Senate they should lay down
 their Arms, and go as Supplicants to *Rome*; that the

(a) *Ad hæc Q. Marcus respondit; si quid ab Senatu petere
 vellent, ab armis discedant; Romam supplices proficiscantur:
 Ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Ro-
 manum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium
 petiverit. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 34.*

Senate and Roman People were of such mercy and goodness, as none ever in vain implor'd their favour.

(b) *Catiline*, so soon as ever he had left the City, does upon the Road write back Letters to several Persons of Consular Dignity, and those that were most Eminent, assuring them the Crimes were utterly false that had been laid to his charge; and because he was not able to resist the factious power of his Enemies, therefore was he resolved to live an Exile at *Massilia*, a Town situated upon the *Gallick* Bay, in the *Mediterranean* Sea; that and *Narbo* being two most Eminent Cities there; still going much by the same name of *Marseilles* and *Narbonne*.

(d) The very next Morning when the news of *Catiline's* nocturnal expedition, and the sham account of his retirement began to fill the City, *Cicero* comes into the publick Assembly of the *Roman* People, and relates to them the whole Affair in this following Oration.

(b) *At Catilina ex itinere plerisque Consularibus, praterea optumo cuique literas mittit, &c. falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunis cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci. Ibid.*

(c) Καθ' ὃ χρεῖον ὁ καλούμενος Γαλατικὸς κόλπος ἀναχέται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Μασσαλία τὴ καὶ Ναρβῶν Ἰδρυμέναι πόλεις ἐπιφανέσθαι. Strabo, Lib. 2. Pag. 528.

(d) *Septima, (Orat. Consul.) quo Catilinam emisi; Oportet, quam habui ad populum postredidit, quam Catilina profugit. Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. 2. Epist. 1.*

Cicero's Second Oration against
Catiline.

WE have now at length, O *Quirites*,
expell'd *L. Catiline*, foaming with
rage, breathing forth Treason, inhumanely plotting
his Countrey's ruine, threatening you, and this whole
City with Fire and Sword; or at least we have let
him out, and driven him on by our importunities;
he is gone, (*what ever you please to call it*) either with-
drawn, or escap'd, or broken away. This City now
no longer contains within her own Bowels this Mon-
ster, this Prodigy, the busie Actor of perpetual mis-
chief. Certain 'tis, we have prevail'd against him,
who is the only Leader of this intestine War. The
treacherous Poniard will not now be so conversant
about our Breast; we may now come to an Election,
a Trial, a Senate, nay, (*what was more than for-
merly we could*) we may now enjoy our own Houses,
without continual Terrors. Being driven from the
City, he has lost that advantageous Spot upon which
he stood; he is now an open Enemy, and none can
deny but the War against him is just. No doubt but
we undid the Man and obtain'd a brave Victory,
when we drove him out of his lurking Treachery in-
to apparent Treason. But that he was forc't to carry
away with him (so contrary to his wishes) his Dag-
ger unstain'd with our Blood. That he left us alive
behind him. That we have wrested the Sword out of
his Hand, that the Citizens are sav'd, and the City
standing;

'standing; you cannot imagine how great his Sorrows
'are; how he is broken and subdued by them. Now,
'O *Quirites*, he lies, as it were, prostrate at your Feet;
'he feels the blow and the fall, casts back his envious
'Eyes and weeps over this City for having been re-
'scued out of his devouring Jaws. But she seems to me
'refresht and to rejoice having eased her Stomach of
'such a destructive Poison.

2. 'But if there be any of you (as indeed you ought
'all to be) concern'd, that I should now glory and
'triumph in this for which I ought to be severely cen-
'sured, as not seizing upon, but promoting the escape
'of such a Capital Enemy; Know, O *Quirites*, that
'it is not my fault, the times won't bear it. *Catiline*
'ought long ago to have been executed to have been
'brought to condign punishment. This, I must con-
'fess, the customs of our Ancestors, the exact Justice
'of this Empire, the Publick Interest have required at
'my hands: But how many think you, would have
'discredited all that I had related? how many by a
'stupid easiness would have remain'd unapprehen-
'sive of the Treason? How many would have
'favour'd it? How many corrupted with wick-
'ed Principles, would have even justified it? But
'for all this could I have thought that the ra-
'king him off, would have sufficiently secur'd you
'from all danger; I had long ago, not only ven-
'tur'd the envy of it, but readily offer'd my own Life
'to the opportunities of Sacrificing his. But when I
'saw that notwithstanding there was such clear proo^d
'made before you all, yet if I had punisht him (as he
'deserv'd) with Death, I should have been so op-
'prest with Envy, that I had not been able to prose-
'cute his Complices; I brought it to such a Head that
'you needed not openly engage, before he appeared, an

open Enemy. This Enemy of ours, O *Quirites*, how much he is to be feared now he is abroad, you may apprehend by this, that nothing troubles me more than his quitting the City with so small a Company: Would he had led out all his Forces with him. He carried away *Tongillus*, whose very Childhood became infamous by his love. He took also *Publicius* and *Munatius*, whose pittiful Debts in every Tavern did so oppress them that there was no fear, they could make any stir to the mischief of the Commonwealth. But then, what considerable Persons has he left behind him? Indeed deeply engag'd in Debt; but withal, both how powerful and how noble they are, you your selves know.

3. As therefore for that Army of his, which he has collected, consisting of some old Desperado's, debauch'd Rusticks and broken Tenants; such, who choose to follow his Camp, meerly to avoid the process of Law; who are ready to run away not only at the appearance of our Forces, but even at the Prætors Edict; these are very contemptible in respect of our *Gallicane* Legions of those that *Q. Metellus* has list'd in the *Picenian* and *Gallick* Countrey, of those that we continually Muster at home. But the Gentlemen I see running up and down the *Forum*, standing in the Court, sitting in the very Senate, perfumed with Odours, adorn'd in Purple; these I could also wish he had carried out for his Souldiers with him. Who if they continue here, know for certain, are much more to be dreaded, though absent from the Army, than the Army is, which he has with him. And this proves how much they are to be fear'd; they are sensible I know their Intrigues, yet care not for all that. I know, to whom *Apulia* is assign'd, who is to have *Etruria*, who the *Picene* Countrey, who the *Gallick*,

'Gallick, who it was that begg'd for his part the
'City-management of the Massacre and Fire. They
'are sensible, that all the resolves of the Night before
'last have been brought to me; that I yesterday dis-
'cover'd them in the Senate; *Catiline* himself trem-
'bled, and fled upon it, What do these Men presume
'upon? Ple assure them they are much mistaken, if
'they suppose my former Lenity must be perpe-
'tual.

4. 'That which I have all along labour'd for, I
'have now obtain'd, that all of you might behold this
'Plot against the Government made apparent: Unless
'any of you can imagine that these who are so like
'*Catiline* are not of *Catiline's* Mind. And if you do
'think so, yet know however there can now be no
'allowance to such favourable Surmises, the affair it
'self importunes us to be severe: Yet one thing will
'I still grant them; that they may be gone; Oh! let
'them go; and not suffer poor *Catiline* to languish for
'them. Ple tell them the way, he is gone the *Aurelia*
'Road, if they will but make hast, they'l reach him
'before Night. Oh blessed state, if the sink of this
'City was but once well drain'd! Since the empty-
'ing it only of *Catiline* has given so great ease and
'refreshment. For what mischief and villany can be
'invented or contriv'd that he did not design upon us?
'What poisoning Artist is there in *Italy*, what despe-
'rate Fencer, what Hector, what *Assassine*, what
'Murderer, what Forgerer, what Cheat, what Bully,
'what Whoremaster, what Baud, what Pimp, what
'Prostitute, what ruin'd Wretch can be found who
'does not presently profess himself of *Catiline's* Club?
'What Murder has there been of late, and he not con-
'cern'd in it? What villanous rape without his con-
'trivance? Was there ever such another Artist in debau-
F 4 chery?

chery? Sometimes he was Master of the unnatural Amours, sometimes Mistress; to some he promised the enjoyment of a Lust, to others the Death of a Father, which was accomplished not only by his persuasion, but assistance. And now, what a Number of the vilest Rogues has he got together both from City and Countrey? There was not one Bankrupt in *Rome*, not one necessitous Rascal in any Corner of *Italy*, but what he hath drawn into the Confederacy of this incredible Treason.

5. But to pursue his various Methods; you may observe how he hits each inclination with a proper difference: If in the Fencing School any one be more than ordinarily daring, he shall presently boast himself *Catiline's* Crony; if the Stage produces any one extremely soft and lecherous, he brags of *Catiline's* most agreeable Acquaintance. And this brave Patron of theirs long accusom'd to the exercise of Whoring and Rapine, being inur'd to Cold and Hunger, to Thirst and Watching is still cried up by them as hardy and valiant; though in truth these supports of Valour and advantages for Virtue, are long ago consum'd by his rage and intemperance. Such as he is, had all his Associates attended him; had all the scandalous croud of Debauches quitted the Town when he did: Oh blessed People! Oh happy Government! Oh the unparallel'd Glory of my Consulship! For as the World now goes, there is no such thing as a restrained Lust, a humane and tolerable Intrigue: Nothing now, but Massacre, and Fire, and Rapine: They have spent their Patrimonies, treated away their Estates; their Stock has been long consumed, and of late their Credit has been quite crackt, yet their Lusts are the same they were in their greatest affluence. If after all they desir'd nothing but to Drink

' Drink and Game, to Guttle, and Wench, we might
 ' esteem them wretched, but possibly not intolerable :
 ' Whereas now, who can bear it, that these sloathful
 ' Cowards should continually plot against the most Va-
 ' liant men? the most Senseless against the most Pru-
 ' dent, the Sots against the Sober, the Sluggards
 ' against the Vigilant? Who sit at a Banquet embracing
 ' their impudent Misses, with heavy Heads and loaded
 ' Stomachs, crown'd with Garlands, smeer'd with
 ' Ointments, enfeebled with Lechery, and then in the
 ' midst of their Discourse do they belch out the Mas-
 ' sacre of good Men, and the firing of the City. I
 ' cannot but assure my self, there is some present judg-
 ' ment hanging over their Heads; and that those pu-
 ' nishments, which have been long due to their Villa-
 ' ny and Treason, to their Lust and Debauchery, are
 ' either now treading upon their Heels, or not far from
 ' them. These, if my Consulship (being not able to re-
 ' form) shall root out; it will prolong this Empire, not for
 ' a little uncertain time, but to a steady succession of ma-
 ' ny Ages. There is no Nation, that we need dread,
 ' no King that dare make War upon the *Roman* Peo-
 ' ple : All things abroad, Sea and Land are secur'd by
 ' the Virtue of one General. But there is a War at
 ' our own Doors, Treachery at Home, Danger en-
 ' closing us on every side, the Enemy within us : We
 ' are now to engage against Luxury, Rage, Rebellion.
 ' This is the War, O *Quirites*, in which I now de-
 ' clare my self your General ; I willingly load my self
 ' with the enmity of every mischievous Villain. What
 ' can be cur'd, I will by any means restore : But what
 ' must be cut off, I will not suffer to spread to our pub-
 ' lick ruine. Wherefore let them be gone, or be quiet :
 ' Or, if they will still stay in the City and retain their
 ' former Principles ; let them expect to suffer, what
 ' they so much deserve.

6. ' But

6. ' But some there are, O *Quirites*, who report
 ' that *Catiline* has been by me driven into Banishment. If
 ' speaking would do it, I would presently send them af-
 ' ter him. For he, certainly, is a very timorous and ex-
 ' tremely modest Man, not able to bear a Consular re-
 ' primand; so that so soon as ever he was but bid to go
 ' into Exile, he immediately obeyed and acquiesc'd,
 ' Yesterday when I was just upon being stabb'd in my
 ' own House, I call'd a Senate in the Temple of *Jupiter*
 ' *Stator*; I inform'd the Conscript Fathers of the whole
 ' Affair. Whither, when *Catiline* came, what Senator
 ' was there, that so much as spoke to him? Who saluted
 ' him? Who look'd upon him otherwise than a most mis-
 ' chievous Citizen, or rather a most dangerous Enemy?
 ' Nay, those Noble Persons who were of his Quality,
 ' left that Bench empty and naked, upon which he sat.
 ' And now, I am the cruel Consul that banish Men
 ' with a word: I did but ask *Catiline*, whether he had a
 ' Nocturnal Consult at *Lecca's*, or No. When he
 ' (whose Forehead never fail'd him before) was so con-
 ' vinc'd in Conscience that he at first stood mute: Then
 ' I proceeded to discover; what he had done that Night,
 ' where he had been, what he had resolved upon for
 ' the next. Then I gave a plain Description of the
 ' whole Design and Method of the War. When he
 ' went to reply, he falter'd and was plainly baffl'd: I
 ' then ask'd him, what made him so unresolv'd in that
 ' Expedition, which he had so long provided for? I
 ' told him I knew well enough, he had sent before his
 ' Arms, his Rods and Axes, his Trumpets, his Milita-
 ' ry Ensigns, and that Silver Eagle, to which, he had a
 ' his House, a Chappel of Villany consecrated. Yet I
 ' have banish'd him, who has thus begun a War! Is it
 ' likely that *Manlius*, the Centurion, who is already en-
 ' camped in the *Fesulane* Countrey, should proclaim
 ' War,

'War, against the *Romans* in his own Name? And so
'that Camp has no manner of expectations in *Catiline*?
'He (poor Man) is driven into Exile, withdrawn not
'to these Forces (as 'tis said) but to *an obscure retire-*
'*ment at Marfeilles.*

7. 'A miserable Province it is, not only to govern,
'but even to preserve the Common-wealth. Now, if it
'had so happen'd that *L. Catiline*, circumvented and de-
'feated by my Councils, Labours, hazards, should
'in a sudden fright have chang'd his resolution, de-
'serted his Party, cast away the Thoughts of War,
'quitted his intentions of Treason and Rebellion, betak-
'ing himself to Flight and Exile: It would not have
'been said, that he was by me disarm'd of his impu-
'dence, that he was stunn'd and terrified by my dili-
'gence, that he was driven from his hopes and designs;
'but that an uncondemn'd innocent Person was by the
'Consul, his power and threats, forc'd into banishment:
'And there are those, who (if he had done so) would
'have esteem'd him not mischievous, but unfortunate;
'and me not a most vigilant Consul, but a most cruel
'Tyrant. Yet 'tis worth the while, O *Quirites*, to
'bear the tempest of this false and unjust envy whilst
'I may shelter you from the danger of this dreadful
'and bloody War. Let it be said, he was cast out by
'me: may it but be true that he is gone into banish-
'ment: But, I am certain, you will not find it so. I'll
'assure you, I'll never desire the Immortal God's, that
'*L. Catiline* may lead an Army of Rebels, and you re-
'ceive Intelligence of his braving it in the Head of
'them, whereby the Envy, I have contracted, may
'be appeas'd: But within three Days you will know it
'too well. And then I fear, it will be more invidiously
'censur'd, that I let him go, than that I cast him out.
'Such men, as because he is withdrawn, cry out, he
'is

' is banisht; what would they have said, if he had
 ' been executed? Though, I must say, those that
 ' make such a clamour of his retiring to *Marseilles*,
 ' fear nothing more, than that it should be so: There
 ' is none of these commiserating Creatures, but had
 ' much rather he should be gone to *Manlius* than the
 ' *Massilians*. And I know him so well, that had he
 ' not been at all engaged in the present designs, his Ge-
 ' nius inclines him to die, rather in a Rebellion than an
 ' Exile. However since nothing has happen'd to him,
 ' besides what proceeded from his own intentions and
 ' resolutions (I must except that he went away and left
 ' us alive at *Rome*) Let us rather wish it true, than com-
 ' plain that he is gone into banishment.

8. ' But why do we insist so long upon one Enemy?
 ' an Enemy that is now confessedly so: and whom, be-
 ' cause, as I have ever wished, the City Walls do se-
 ' parate, I no longer fear. But why do we say nothing
 ' of those that are left in Masquerade at *Rome*, and are
 ' amongst us? Whom I (if by any means possible I
 ' could) would endeavour not to be reveng'd of, but
 ' to restore: And why they may not be restor'd to the
 ' Common-wealth if they would take my advice I can-
 ' not understand: I will tell you, O *Quirites*, of what
 ' sort of men they consist, then as well as I am able I
 ' will afford to each of them the remedy of my ad-
 ' vice, and counsel. One sort is of those who are much in
 ' Debt, but of great Estates, and are so possessed with the
 ' love of them, that they will by no means sell any
 ' part of them: These I look upon as the most honou-
 ' rable, for they are indeed Rich, but their resolutions
 ' and humour, are most inexcusable. You are posses-
 ' s'd of Lands, Houses, Goods, Chattels, and every thing
 ' else about you, and you cannot persuade your selves
 ' to diminish your possessions, to augment your Credit.
 ' Well,

Well, what do you expect? a War? What then? do you think that in a common ruine your possessions will be so Sacred, as not to be touched? do you expect Proposals for cancelling old Debts? They are much mistaken that expect this from *Catiline*. You shall have new Proposals, by my advice, but such as must put you upon Selling, nor is there any other way possible, that those who have Estates should quietly enjoy them. Which if they would have done sooner, nor have (as is most vain) continued struggling with incumbrances upon their Farms, we might have enjoyed them, much better and much richer Citizens. But I think these men are least of all to be dreaded, because they may either be won over from their intentions, or if they will persist in them, seem more likely to put up Prayers, than to bear Arms against the Common-wealth.

9. There is another sort of those who are oppressed with Debt and yet desire to Rule, would have the Government in their hands, think those Honours which they cannot enjoy in a quiet state, would in the troubles of it fall into their Laps. To these this seems advisable, which I offer to all the rest, that they would despair for ever obtaining what they labour for: First, let them know that I ever watch, am present, and provide for the Common-wealth; then, that there is a great courage in all good men; a great Concord, a vast multitude, and mighty Military Forces: Last of all, that the Immortal Gods, are ever ready to help this invincible People, this most renowned Empire, this most famous City, against all the violence of Wickedness. But if they had accomplish'd what with the greatest madness they desire, can they hope in the Ashes of the City, and the Blood of the Citizens, (which with impious and
cruel

' cruel Affections they thirst after that they shall be Con-
 ' suls, or Dictators, or Kings? Do they not see, they
 ' desire that which, if obtain'd, must necessarily give
 ' the reward to some Vagabond or Gladiator? The
 ' third sort is of those whose Age is almost spent, yet
 ' strong in Experience, of whom is *Manlius*, to whom
 ' *Catiline* now succeeds. These men are of those Co-
 ' lonies which *Sulla* planted at *Fæsulæ*, which I appre-
 ' hend to have been of the best Citizens, and most Va-
 ' liant men, but such who exalted with sudden and un-
 ' expected Riches, have lived sumptuously and extrava-
 ' gantly. They build as if they should be ever happy,
 ' and whilst they delight themselves with their Mannors,
 ' their Coaches, their great Retinues, their splendid
 ' Feasts, they fall into such Debts, as if ever they
 ' would get out of, *Sulla* must be raised from the Dead.
 ' These have drawn some other Countrey, mean, nee-
 ' dy Fellows into the same hopes of their old Rapines.
 ' Both of which, O *Quirites*, I reckon as Robbers,
 ' and Plunderers, but I admonish them to leave off be-
 ' ing mad, and fancying Sequestrations, and Dictator-
 ' ships. For the scars of those times are so deeply imprin-
 ' ted upon the Citizens, that not only Men, but even
 ' Beasts would be unwilling to undergo them again.

10. ' The fourth sort is very various, mixt, and tur-
 ' bulent, who have been a great while sunk, and will
 ' never rise, who partly by their sloth, partly by their
 ' imprudence, partly by their expensiveness, stagger in
 ' their old Debts. Who being wearied out, with Suits,
 ' Judgments, Prosecutions driven out of the City, and
 ' Countrey, are retired into that Rendezvous. Whom
 ' I do not look so much upon, to be bold Souldiers as
 ' Idle Cheats. If these cannot stand, e'ne let them fall,
 ' but so fall, that neither the City, nor even their next
 ' Neighbours, feel them. But I do not understand this,
 ' why

‘why if they cannot live honestly, they must needs desire to perish so basely, or why they should think it a less trouble to destroy so many with them than to perish alone. The fifth sort is of Traytors, Assassines, and of all the most villanous whom I do not recall from *Catiline*, nor indeed can they ever be parted from him; but let them perish in the Treason, for they are too many for a Prison to secure. The last sort is not only of *Catiline*'s number, but his own way and course of Life, his proper choice, whom he hugs, whom he lays in his Bosom; these you may see well Combed and Powdered, either with no Beard, or a very neat one, clothed in their wide long Coats, with Mantles, not Gowns, the industry of whose life, and labourious watchfulness, is intirely spent in the Revels of the Night. In these Clubs are conversant all the Gamesters, the Pimps, the Adulterers, the Immodest; these fine jolly Lads have learned, not only to make love, and receive it, to Sing, and Dance, but to Stab and Poison; now unless these be driven out, and destroyed, although *Catiline* did perish, yet know there would remain a *Catilinarian* Seminary in the Commonwealth. But what would those Wretches do? would they carry their Wenches along with them into the Tents? or can they be without them these long cold Nights? How will they be able to endure the *Appenines*, the Frost and Snow there: unless perhaps they fancy they shall be better able to endure the Winter, because they have learned to Dance Naked in their Banquets.

II. ‘A War sure much to be dreaded, when *Catiline* hath with him such a *Prætorian* Troop of Drabs. Now *Quirites* rank the Guards, and Armies, against these such famous Forces of *Catiline*: First, to the Gladiator himself baffled and broken oppose your
‘Con-

'Consuls and Commanders : Then, against that feeble
 'and refuse handful of undone Wretches, draw forth
 'the Flower and Strength of all *Italy*. Our Colonies,
 'and free Towns shall be set against the rude and coun-
 'treys Garrisons of *Catiline*. Nor is it necessary that I
 'should compare the rest of our Forces, Ammunition,
 'Provision, with the Wants and Necessities of that
 'Rebel. But if all these things were omitted which
 'we are supplied with, and he wants; set aside the Se-
 'nate, the *Roman* Knights and People, the City, the
 'Treasury, the Customs, all *Italy*, all the Provinces,
 'and Foreign Nations, if, I say, all these were omitted,
 'let us but compare the causes together and so engage;
 'from thence alone we may be assured how miserably
 'they must fall. For on our side Justice fights, on theirs,
 'Pecuniariness; on ours Chastity, on theirs Debauchery;
 'on ours Fidelity, on theirs Fraud; on ours Piety, on
 'theirs Wickedness; on ours Constancy, on theirs
 'Rashness; on ours Honour, on theirs Baseness; on
 'ours Continence, on theirs Lust; in a word Equity,
 'Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, all the Virtues
 'contend with Injury, Luxury, Sloth, Rage, and all the
 'Vices: Lastly, Plenty with Wants, good Reason with
 'depraved, a sound Mind with Madness, a well ground-
 'ded hope, with a most improbable Presumption. Now
 'in such an engagement and conflict as this, would
 'not (if the endeavours of men were wanting) the Im-
 'mortal Gods themselves force, so many and so great
 'Vices, to submit to such excellent Virtues.

12. 'Since things are so, O *Quirites*, go as I said
 'before, keep Watch and Ward in your own Houses,
 'I have taken sufficient care, and provided that the
 'City shall be guarded without your Rising or any
 'Tumult. The Countrey and Towns about shall
 'quickly know of *Catiline's* excursion last Night,
 'and

and put themselves into a posture of defence; the
 Gladiators, (a great part of whom he thought as-
 sured to himself) have not only better resolutions
 than many *Patricians*, but are besides all safe within
 our power. *L. Metellus* whom (foreseeing what
 came to pass) I sent before into the *Gallicane* and
Picene Countrey will either suppress the Rebel, or else
 stop all his designs, and proceedings. As to the ma-
 nagement of all other Affairs, the ripening, and
 transacting of them, we will refer them to the Se-
 nate, which you now know is summon'd. But as to
 those who have tarried in the City, and were left
 here by *Catiline*, that they might plot against the
 safety of it, and of all you, though they be Ene-
 mies, yet because they were born Citizens I cannot
 but again and again admonish them. If my lenity
 hath seem'd to any one too far extended, let him
 know 'twas upon this account; that what was hid
 might have time to break out. But for what's to
 come, I am not able to forget that this is my Coun-
 trey, that I am your Consul, *That I must either live*
with you, or die for you. If there be any that would
 be gone they may take their course, no body will
 stop them at the Gates, there is no Ambush in the
 way, but if any one stirs within the City, whom I
 shall apprehend not only in the Fact, but in any at-
 tempt or design against his Countrey, he shall quick-
 ly find that there are in this City vigilant Consuls,
 Excellent Magistrates, a valiant Senate, Arms, and
 Prisons, which our Ancestors design'd as punish-
 ments for impious villanies.

13. All these things, *Quirites*, shall be so mana-
 ged that the greatest Affairs may be appeased with
 the least trouble, the greatest dangers with no stir,
 an Intestine War; since the Memory of Man most
 cruel,

'cruel, and potent, by the Conduct of one Gown-
 'man for the General. Which, O *Quirites*, if pos-
 'sible I would so bring to pass, that no one how ever
 'mischievous may suffer the punishment of his wick-
 'edness in this City. But if any open violence, any
 'danger, imminently threatening my Countrey shall,
 'necessarily drive me from this lenity of Affection;
 'I will then aim at that, which can hardly be expe-
 'cted in so great and treacherous a War, that not one
 'good Man may perish, and that by the punishment
 'of a very few, you may all be saved. Which I do
 'not pretend, O *Quirites*, to be able to accomplish
 'by my own prudence or humane Counsels, but by the
 'many and plain intimations of the Immortal Gods:
 'who being my Guides I am arriv'd at this hope, this
 'opinion. Who are not now at that distance they
 'were wont to be when we engaged with a foreign,
 'remote Enemy, but with a more concerned presence,
 'and assistance, are ready to save their Temples, and
 'the Houses of this City: whom you now ought, O
 '*Quirites*, to adore, to pray, and beseech, *that since*
 '*it hath been their pleasure to make this City the most*
 '*beautiful, the most flourishing, the most powerful, they*
 '*would now preserve her (whose foreign Enemies are*
 '*subdued by Sea and Land,) from the destructive vil-*
 '*lanies of most pernicious Citizens.*

(e) Soon after this a Letter was sent from *Catiline*,
 to the excellent *Q. Lucatius Catulus* very different,
 from those former by which he had endeavoured to
 possess the City with a belief that he was only re-

(sey ab his longe diversas literas Q. Catulus in senatu recita-
vit; quas sibi nomine Catiline redditae dicebat; earum exemplum
infra scriptum est. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 34.

tired to *Massilia*; not as Conscious to himself of any ill design, but only for the sake of the publick quiet; and that no disturbance might arise from engaging with his adversaries. In this he acquainted the noble *Catulus*, (of whose goodness he had been formerly a partaker) with the injuries he had sustained, the publick defence of the Oppressed which he had undertaken, recommending to him the care of his Family in this time of his distress; upon the receipt whereof, this faithful Patriot; valuing the Publick safety before any particular friendship, and knowing the duty he owed to his Country was ever to be preferred before all private Obligations, read the Letter to the Senate, a Copy whereof is here annexed:

(*) *L. Catiline, to Q. Catulus, brabb.* Your Eminent Fidelity which I have had such Experience of, in my greatest dangers, gives me assurance that I may recommend my Affairs into your hands. Wherefore I think it less necessary to make any defence for my proceedings: But to give you the satisfaction of pleading my Innocence; which upon my Conscience you must submit unto. But thus much I shall say, that being driven about with injuries and disgraces, deprived of the Fruits of my Labour and Industry; and of that just Degree of Dignity I had deserved of the Common-wealth; therefore have I (as my practice hath been) undertaken the publick cause of the miserable. Not but that I was able to pay my own Debts with my own Revenues, especially since the liberality of *Aurelia Orestilla* by her own, and her Daughters fortunes, could have

(*) *Catiline, Catulo S. Egregia tua fides vacagnita, mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationis meae tribuit, &c.*

given abundant satisfaction. But because I saw unworthy men promoted to Honour, and my self oppressed with false suspicions; for this cause have I pursued my hopes (honest enough as the case stands) of preserving the remainders of my Honour. I was about to write more; but 'tis just now told me that there is a force preparing; I only recommend to you and your fidelity my *Orestilla*, I beg of you, as you love your own Children, defend her from injury; *Adieu*.

(f) *Catiline* tarrying some few days with *C. Flaminius* in the *Reatine* Countrey, (which was about Thirty *English* Miles from *Rome*), and is now called *Sabinia*, from the *Sabini*, People that anciently inhabited it, whose principal City was *Reate*, with little alteration at present named *Rieti*;

(g) did there Arm the People who were before solicited to his Interest, and then displaying his Imperial Ensigns marched forward to the Tents of *Manlius*.

(h) The News of this was quickly brought to *Rome*, *Catiline* and *Manlius* by Decree of the Senate adjudged publick Enemies, and a Day appointed, by which, if the rest would lay down their Arms, they should be all pardoned; except those who for some

(f) Σαβίνοι δ' εὐνὴν ὀκτὼς ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ μῆκος δὲ δέηκον, καὶ χιλίων σάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καὶ Νάυσης πολέμου, μαχεύεσθαι συνέχευε τὸ λαὸς ὅστις ἐχέον ὀλίγας καὶ τετραπενταμύνας, διὰ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύλρον, καὶ Πάδω. Strabo. Lib. 5. Pag. 229.

(g) Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Reatino, tum vicinitatem ante sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus, atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 35.

(h) Hec ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam, & Manlium hostes judicant, cetera multitudini diem statuit, antequam liceat sine fraude ab armis discedere, Præter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Ibid. Cap. 36.

for.

former Crimes had been condemned to die.

(i) 'Twas decreed also the Consuls should raise an Army as their manner was, by Electing so many Citizens out of every Company as the occasion required; that *Antonius* (whose inclinations to the Conspiracy were not then known) should lead them against *Catiline*, that *Cicero* should stay at home and guard *Rome*, which was the employment that this vigilant Consul did above all desire; for when the brave Province of *Macedon* was assigned him, he willingly quitted it to his Colleague; afterward receiving *Gallia* in lieu thereof, he still chose to stay at home and watch over the City, sending *Metellus* thither, that *Catiline* might not get possession of it. At this time also did the Senate lay aside their Robes of Honour, and put on (as was usual in publick dangers and calamities) a mourning habit.

(i) *Præterea, decernit uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturat; Cicero urbi præsidio sit. Ibid.*

Ὅθεν τῶν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν κατεπείγουσαν καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνιον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀγωνοῦντες πρὸς τὴν συνωμοσίαν σφῶν, ἐπέλαυν. Ἄντοιοι τε τὴν ἐδῶκα μετέβαλον. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χάριν ἔμεινεν. ἐπὶ λήξει γὰρ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρξαι, ἥτις ἡ εἰς ἐκείνην (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς δίκας σπουδὴν ἐξέστη) οὕτως εἰς τὴν Γαλασίαν τὴν πλησίον, ἣν ἀνέλαβε διὰ τὰ παρόντα, ἐξήλασεν; ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ σιταλῆς ἐποίησεν. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Γαλασίαν τὸν Μήτελλον (ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατρίλιος αὐτὴν σφαιρέσειεν) ἔπημψεν. *Idio Call. Lib. 37. P. 50.*

(k) And now indeed the State of the Roman Empire appeared very miserable, that when their Armies abroad had from East to West subdued all those Nations which the Sun in his daily Circuit discovered to them, when they had Peace and Riches at home, which Mortals are most apt to dote upon: Then their own Citizens should with obstinate resolutions proceed to ruine both themselves and the Common-wealth! For notwithstanding two Decrees of the Senate, yet out of so great a Number of the Conspirators none could be induced even by hopes of reward, to make any farther discovery; not one could be persuaded to desert the Tents of *Catiline*; such was the power of the Disease, such an inveterate malignity had seized the generality of Citizens.

But this could not be without some proportionable cause: The Nobles, and the Commons too had given themselves up to pursue distinct interests, and such as were most prejudicial to the Common safety.

(k) *Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxumè miserabile visum est: cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium, atque divitiæ quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent, fuisse tamen cives qui sequeremurque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque premio inducto conjurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes plerasque civium animos invaserat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 36.*

(l) For

(1) For since the last Seven years, that the Tribunitian power (which had been almost quite taken away by *Sylla*) was fully restored by the Consuls, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, some young men, (whose heat and age were over vigorous) obtaining that uncontrollable Authority, made it their business to traduce the Senate, and to stir up the People, then by gifts and promises so to enflame them, that they might thereby become eminent and powerful. On the other side, the Nobility seemed but to stand their ground, and struggle to maintain their just greatness. But, to speak a mighty Truth in few Words, Those who had then the Government in their Hands, did some of them with fair pretences defend the Peoples rights, some of them stand up for the Senates Authority, but all of them counterfeiting the publick good, did really contend for the enlargement of their own particular power, and this without any temper, for when either side got a Victory, it was pursued to the greatest excess.

Thus, the Empire having contracted so great an indisposition, its Spirits raised to an immoderate height, then agitated by discontent, envy, ambition, seem'd to be arrived at the critical Moment of its

(1) *Nam postquam Cneo Pompeio & M. Crasso Coll. tribunitia potestas restituta est; homines adolescentes summam potestatem nati, quibus aetas, animusque ferox erat, capere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiendo, atque pollicitando magis incenderent; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senatus sub specie pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempub. agitavere honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti jura populi defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quique potentia certabat. Neque illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant: Ibid. Cap. 38.*

ruine. (m) The first opportunities of a change awakened the sleeping disease, and began to set all into an Hectick rage. Had *Catiline* been Conqueror at the first engagement, or had he but gone off with equal advantages, vast slaughter, and calamity had oppressed the Commonwealth: Nor could those that had got the Victory have long enjoyed it; when they had spent their Blood and fainted, then some one more powerful would have stepped in and wrested Dominion and Liberty out of their Hands.

If the sense and experience of Ages could make us wise, how would all that are imbarqued in one Government, seek its entire undisturbed preservation! 'Tis prodigious folly for men in a sinking ship to quarrel who should command, to scuffle for Goods to furnish their private Cabins; but 'tis the most extream madness to endeavour its loss, that they may enrich themselves by their own wrecks: Which every one must be guilty of, who enjoys either Goods or life under the protection of any State, and doth not sincerely endeavour its support.

(m) *Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexerit. Quod si primo praelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset; profecto magna clades, atque calamitas reipub. oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis & exanguibus, qui plus possit, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Ibid. Cap. 31.*

(n) Many

(n) Many there were, besides those engaged in *Catiline's* private Conspiracy who upon his publick appearance joyned themselves to his Forces : among others, *Aulus Fulvius*, a Senators Son; but that truly *Roman* Father, caused him to be brought back again, and put to death; thereby demonstrating that the affections of a Patriot might be stronger than those of a Parent : Nor is this any rare Example among the *Roman* People, private Persons as well as those in Authority exercising this severe Jurisdiction over their Children.

(o) The Insurrections which were breaking out in both the *Gallia's*, and appeared in those several parts of *Italy*, where *Catiline* had scatter'd his Emissaries, were very much suppressed by the Commanders, whom the Senate had sent into the several Provinces for that purpose: For most of the Rebels acted madly and rashly, making a great Tumult and Hurry, but with much greater appearance than danger to the

(n) *Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam intitus profecti sunt : in his erat Fulvius, Senatoris filius : quem retractum ex itinere parcens necari jussit.* Ibid.

Αὐλον δὲ Φέλβιον, ἀνδρα βουλευτὴν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέ-
ραξαν, οὐκ ἔτι καὶ μόνον (ὡς καὶ πατὴρ δόκει) τῷ ἐν ἰσθμῷ
ποιήσας; συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, ἔχοντες ὑπατοὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδιω-
ταί, πατὴρας φῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Dio Cass. Lib. 37. Pa. 52.

(o) *Iisdem fere temporibus, in Gallia citeriore, atque ul-
tiorē, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulio, motus erat, namque
illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsultē, ac veluti per
dementiam cuncta simul agere: nocturnis conciliis, armorum, at-
que telorum portationibus, festinando, adiutendo omnia plus ti-
moris quam periculi effecerant, ex eo numero complures Q. Metel-
lus Celer Prætor ex S. C. causa cognita, in vincula conjecerat;
item in citeriore Gallia C. Muræna, qui ei provincia Legatus præ-
erat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 41.*

Common-wealth. *Q. Metellus Celer* in *Apulia* apprehended many and committed them to Prison; which was done also by *C. Muræna*, who was Lieutenant of the higher *Gallia*; (p) this is that Countrey which was particularly called the *Cisalpine Gaul*, separated from the further *Gallia* by the *Alps* (from whence the distinction had its denomination) and from the rest of *Italy* (whereof it is now a part) by Mount *Appennine*, which is the great Bank of *Etruria*, and by the River *Æsis* at first, afterward by the River *Rubicon*, both running into the *Adriatick Sea*.

(q) At this time whilst *Catiline* was in Arms, and *C. Antonius* leading the Consular Forces against him, an unhappy Controversie fell out, which might have proved of very ill consequence to the Common-wealth, it being of publick concern, and contested between the most sincere Patriots, whose disagreements must needs be extreamly dangerous, since the safety of all depends upon their unanimity.

(*) *Servius Sulpitius* late Competitor for the Consulship accuses *L. Licinius Muræna* Consul Elect, of

(p) Ὅσον ὃ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ἢν ἐνδεῖ Κελτικὴν καλεῖ-
μεν, πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὸ τε Ἀπέννινον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ
τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἀπεδέσμευτο, καὶ ὁ Αἰὼς ποταμὸς ὕστερον ὃ ὁ
Ρυβίκων, εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐκδιδόντες ἀμφοτέρω. Strabo, Lib. 5.
Pag. 217.

(q) *Dii faxint, ut meus Collega, vir fortissimus, hoc Catilinæ
nefarium latrocinium armatus opprimat: ego togatus, vobis,
bonisque omnibus adiutoribus, hoc, quod conceptum Respubl. pericu-
lum parturit, concilio discutiam & comprimam.* Cicero. Orat.
pro Muræna. Cap. 29.

(*) Vid. Cicero. Orationem pro Muræna.

Bribery in his canvassing for that high Dignity :

(r) *M. Porcius Cato* the Oracle of Rome, and Elected by Nature as the most eminent instance of invincible Virtue, becomes also one of his accusers. (s) for though this was much to the advantage of *Catiline*, who would gladly (had it been in his power) not only have put by *Muræna* but cut his Throat; yet (t) that inflexible Stoick, having sworn to accuse any Person whatsoever who should give Money to carry the Election, doth with great fierceness prosecute the cause.

The eloquent *Hortensius*, the powerful *Crassus*, and the learned *Cicero* defended him; (u) the Consul professed it his greatest duty and concern, to put the Commonwealth, so happily preserved by him, into the Hands

(r) *Quod ad Catonem pertinet, summam, illi felicitatem contigisse, consensus hominum fatebitur. Quem sibi rerum natura delegit, cum quo metuenda collideret. Seneca, Lib. de provid. Cap. 3.*

(s) *Si L. Catilina cum suo consilio nefariorum hominum, quos secum eduxit, hac de re possit judicare, condemnaret L. Murænam; si interficere possit, occideret. Cicero, Orat. pro Mur. Cap. 39.*

(t) *Επώμοσι τὸ δούλον ἀργύριον, ὅστις αὖν ἢ καταγοργήσῃν— διὰ τούτων μὲν παρήκεν, Λεύκιον δ' Μυρτιάαν ἐβλώχεαν, ἀργυρίῳ διαπερζάμενον ἀγρότητα μετὰ τῷ Σιλάνῳ. Plutarchi Cato minor. Pag. 769.*

(u) *Quis mihi in republica potest, aut debet esse conjunctior, quam is, cui respub. à me una traditur sustinenda, magnis meis laboribus & periculis sustentata? Cicero, pro Mur. Cap. 2.*

of *Muræna*. (w) Cato Tribune Elect for the ensuing year was bid to consider the storm that would come upon him, who was raised up by good men to stop the fury of his pernicious Colleagues : That his Enemies did by all means endeavour to destroy him, and when his Tribunitian power was bereaved of the Consular assistance, they would easily suppress him, as he should then be weak and desolate. (x) That in these times no Man need envy *Muræna* the Consulship, 'twould expose him to the slanderous raillery of the Seditious, to the snares of the Conspirators, to the Darts of *Catiline* : He must be the Principal Person on whom all the hatred and danger was like to fall.

This with a great deal more that had been said to the advantage of his reputation, prevailed upon the Judges, and the Old Election was confirmed.

Now the Conspirators came to lay their last design, in which the entire Treason might be consummated (y) the Principal of them left at *Rome* was,

(w) *Nec minus vellent, Cato, te quoque aliqua ratione, si possent, tollere : Sed cum consulari Auctoritate, & auxilio spoliatum vim tribunitiam viderint, tum se facilius inermem, & debilitatum te oppressuros arbitrantur.* Ibid. Cap. 38.

(x) *Invidiam verò his temporibus habere consulatus ipse nullam potest. Obicitur enim concionibus Seditiosorum insidias conjuratorum, telis Catilinæ, ad omne denique periculum, atque ad omnem invidiam Solus opponitur.* Ibid. Cap. 39.

(y) Τὸν ὄντα τῇ φύσει τοῦτον, κακινημένον ὑπὸ τῇ Κατιλίᾳ, περιδιέτρεχον ἐλπίσι κινᾶς ψευδομένταις καὶ ῥήγες, ἔπειτα πεπλάσματα καὶ χρησμούς ἀδούτους, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Σίβυλλειων προσηλῶντας ἐμαργάνους ἢ) τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κορνηλίου τρεῖς μονάρχους, ὧν δύο μὲν ἦδη πεπληρωμένοι τὸ χρεὼν, Κίνναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ λοιπῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐκείνῳ φέροντα τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἤκειν τὸ δαίμονα, καὶ εἶναι πάντως δὲ δεχόμενος, καὶ μὴ διαφθεῖρεν μέλλοντα τὸς καιροὺς. Plut. Ciccr. Pag. 869.

Cor-

Cornelius Dentatus, whose discontented and aspiring Genius was mightily raised by the Fortune-tellers of those times : Singing many Poetick Prophecies, and Oracles which they pretended to have out of the *Sibyllin* Records : That three *Cornelius's* should be Monarchs of *Rome*, which had been already accomplished in two, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, that now the Fates were offering to him (the Third *Cornelius*) the Supreme Power, he ought not to neglect the acceptance and spoil the opportunity by delay.

(x) Besides, the (a) *Hetrurian* Prophets, to whom the ancient Laws of *Rome* committed the Authority of Divination, and whose Principal Colledge was at *Fæsulæ*, often foretold that this Twentieth Year from the burning of the Capitol (b) which was in the Consulship of *Scipio* and *Norbanus*, but again rebuilt

(2) *Præterea, ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 47.

(a) *Veteri lege sancitum erat, ut priusquam augurandi scientia Romanis innotuisset, hæc ad Etruscos deferentur; verba legis sunt: PRODIGIA ET. PORTENTA. AD. HETRUSCOS. HARUSPICES. SI. SENATUS. JUSSERIT. DEFERUNTO. HETRURIAEQUE. PRINCIPES. DISCIPLINAM. DISCUNTO. QUIBUS. DIVIS. DECREVERINT. PROCURANTO. IISDEM. FULGURA. ET. OSTENTA. PIANA. AUSPICIA. SERVANTO. AUGURI. PARENTO.* Ex hac lege decreto senatus sex optimatum filios Hetruscis in disciplinam tradi solitos, ut augurandi artem addicerent, proditum est. Quæ quidem arte, Fæsulæ clauerunt, ubi & domicilium & collegium Augurum fuit. Peucer. de diuinat.

(b) *Capitolium interjecto CCCCXV. annorum spacio, L. Scipione, C. Norbano Coss. Flagraverat. curam Vict. Sulla suscepit, nequa tamen dedicavit; hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum. Luthis Catuli nomen, inter tanta Caesarum opera; usque ad Vitellium mansit.* Cor. Tacit. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 72.

by

by *Sylla*, and dedicated in the Name of the Noble *Lutatius Catulus* should be very Bloody by a Civil War.

(*) This was also the Tenth Year since the Vestal Virgins were acquitted from that Accusation which *Catiline* and his acquaintance, too much frequenting their Company, had drawn them into; among which was *Fabia*, Sister to *Terentia*, the Wife of *Cicero*, who therefore told *Catiline* in that Oration he made against him when he was Candidate: 'You have lived after such a manner, that there is no place so Holy, but your very access to it, though there be nothing but Innocence, confers a Crime.

(d) These Prophetick encouragements, drove *Den-
tulus* to such resolutions, that no small ordinary Villanies would serve his turn, nothing less then murdering the whole Senate, and as many more Citizens as he was able, nothing less then burning down the City itself.

Thus superstition, service invented and managed by the Devil is generally made use of to promote the most horrid Villanies, and to sublimate humane corruption into the destructive fineness of his own Spiritual wickedness: If at any time it be accommodated by Politicians to the uses of Government, it may serve a present turn, but then afterwards discovers so much of trick and imposture, that it cannot be long serviceable to them.

* *Cicer. Orat. in Cat. 3. Cap. 4.*

(c) *Fabia virgo Vestalis causam incesti dixerat cum ei Catilina objiceretur; eratque absoluta hac Fabia, quia soror erat Terentia Ciceronis. Ideo sic dixit, 'ita vixisti ut non esset locus tam Sanctus, quod non adventus tuus, etiam cum culpa nulla subesset, crimen afferret. Ascân. Ped. in Ora. Cicer. in tog. cand. contra C. Anton. & L. Catil.*

(d) Οὐδὲν ἔν ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς ὁ λόγος, ἢ δόσημον, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ βελὴν ἀπαν ἀναρεῖν, ἢ τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν ὅσους δύναται; ἢ πόλιν δι' αὐτὴν καταπυρρῆσαι. *Plut. Cicer. Pag. 869.*

Those

Those alone which are truly Divine Oracles can guide our Designs in Virtue and Happiness, give us sure direction and steady repose in all dangers, teach infallibly what to revere and what to expect, and on them may we ever rely as a Foundation unshaken by the succession of all Ages.

(e) *Lentulus* resolves to snatch none but *Pompey's* Children out of the destruction, whom it was necessary to keep as Pledges of Security against the return of that great Conquerour; (f) who had now terminated the Bounds of the Roman Empire, not so much by the Coasts of Earth, as the Regions of Heaven. For it was the Notion of that and the former Ages, that as the Heavens did encircle this lower World (g) (acknowledged as a Principle by them to be Spherical,) (h) so did the great external Ocean encompass the habitable Land, and that again surrounded the *Mediterranean*, (or as they call'd it the internal) Sea.

(e) Φαιδεύαι ὃ μνησθένος ἢ τῶ Πομπηίου τέκνων, ταῦτα δ' ἔξαρπασμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς, ὃ φυλάττειν, ὅμνησα τ' πρὸς Πομπηίου δειλυστῶν; ἥδη γὰρ ἐφοίτα πολὺς χρόνος, καὶ βέβαιος, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καλίστης ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης στρατίας. Plut. Cicer. Pag. 269.

(f) *Finis nostræ imperii, non terræ, sed cæli regionibus terminaret.* Cicer. in Cat. 3. Cap. 11.

(g) Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ πλεῖστη ἀναμείλῃσιν τῆς ὅλης γῆς, ὅτε ἀλλοῖς συνκρούσῃ, ἐνταῦθα δ' ὑποβιβάζει δεινὰ, καὶ πνεῦσιν πῆλιν ἀντιθέσθαι. ὑποβιβάζει δ' καὶ σφαιροειδῆ μὲν τὸν κόσμον, σφαιροειδῆ δ' καὶ τὴν ἐμφάνειαν τῆς γῆς. Strabo. Lib. 1. Pag. 11.

(h) Σύμπασαν τὴν οἰκυμένην γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν--- τῷ Ὀκεανῷ περιεχόμεν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τ' ἐντὸς. Ibid. Pag. 2.

(i) *Pompey*

(i) Pompey therefore having extended his Victorious Conquests to the external Ocean, thorough all the utmost opposite parts of the Earth, was supposed to have made them conterminous with the Heavens: He had reached the South-west shores of the African Ocean: In Spain he had brought the Bounds of the Roman Empire to the Atlantick Sea (which were the farthest North-west parts that were known to them, till Cæsar afterwards visited the Shores of Gaul and Britain:) Then in the Eastern World in the pursuit of the Albani, he almost touched the Hircanian or Caspian Sea (which passing the unknown parts of Tartary and China, were esteemed the utmost North-east bounds:) And this last expedition (from whence he was now returning) reached to Arabia, and the Red Sea, the great inlet of the South-east Indian Ocean.

It was therefore very necessary to provide for his Friendship who had thus conquered the World, and might very justly be supposed the Master of his own City when he came back.

(k) The great appointment which Lentulus and

(i) "Αὐτὸν δὲ τίς ἕως καὶ ζήλῳ εἶχε, Συεῖαν ἀναλαβὴν, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀεζείας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἰλῶσαι θέλασσαν, ὥς τῷ πλεονεκτήσει τὴν οὐκ ἐκείνην παρρησίαν ὁκεανῶ προσμύξει ἐνικῶν; καὶ γὰρ ἐν λιβύῃ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ ἐκτὸς θαλάσσης κεφαλὴν περιῆλθε, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πάλιν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πλάγῳ, καὶ τελευτὴν ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ, ὡς ἐν συνάψει τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ καὶ μεσογείᾳ, τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ ἀνίστατο. Plut. Pomp. Pag. 689.

(k) At Romæ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjunctionis erant, paratis, uti videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerat, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Fæfulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia, Tribunus plebis concione habita, quaereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam, optimo Consuli imponeret. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 43.

the

the Conspirators made, was, that when *Catiline* had taken the Field with his Army at *Fæfulæ*; the City should presently to correspond with his Motion, be exposed to Fire and Sword.

It was particularly contriv'd that *L. Bestia* Tribune of the People should in a publick Assembly complain of *Cicero's* actions, and transpose the Envy of the worst War upon the best Consul.

(l) *Appian* gives us an account that so soon as intelligence came of *Catiline's* arrival at *Fæfulæ*, *Len- tulus*, and *Cetbegus* were to attend about *Cicero's* Gate, who upon the account of their quality being admitted into his Conversation; should as it were by a prolong'd discourse draw him from his Company, and murder him: That then *L. Sextius* Tribune of the People should Summon an Assembly, and accuse *Cicero* as a Man timorous and turbulent, always alarming the City when there was not the least cause of fear.

(m) This Transaction was to be the great signal, that upon the next Night after, the whole Multitude

(l) Λένλιον ὃ καὶ τοῖς συνωμύοις ἔδοξεν, ὅτε Κατλίναν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυρθάνοιτο γερμένους, Λένλιον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέ- θηρον ἐφιδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος δόξαις περὶ ἑω, μετὰ κακρυμ- μένων Ξιπιδίων, ἐσδεχόμενους τε διὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ λαλῶντες ὅ, τι δὴ, μὲν καὶ ὁμιλίαν ἐν πειπτάτῳ, καὶ κτεῖναι πεισπύσαν- ται ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων. Δεύκιον δὲ Σήστιον δὲ δῆμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν τῶν Κικέρωνος ὡς ἀεὶ δειλῶ καὶ πλεμωπιῶ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν ὑδνὶ δεινῷ διαταρσέον- τῳ, App. Alex. de Bell. Civil. lib. 2.

(m) Eo signo, proxima nocte, cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius & Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilius ad Consulem, ceterosque quibus insidia parabantur, fieret. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 43.

of the Conspiracy should break out; and every one commit his assigned Treason. *Sallust* tells us it was appointed that *Statilius* and *Gabinus*, should with a great Company assisting them, at once set on Fire Twelve the most opportune places of the City. (n) *Plutarch* affirms that the City was distributed into an Hundred parts; to these, an Hundred Persons were by Lot appointed, each Man particularly superintendent to his own Ward that all being set on Fire together, the whole might be one universal conflagration: Others should then attend upon the Conduits, and cut the Throats of all those who came to fetch Water.

(o) *Cicero* himself gives us this distribution, that *Lentulus* was left as Principal in the City, *Cassius* was to manage the Fire, *Cethegus* the Massacre: That *Autronius* was particularly to Head the Rebellion in *Etruria*, † *Ceparius* in *Apulia*. (p) *Lentulus* being the grand Orderer of Affairs at *Rome*, determines the time of *Catiline's* advance and the Cities destruction to

(n) Ἀνδρες ἢ πάντες ἑκάστην καὶ μέρος ταῦτα τῆς Ρώμης; ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ διεκλήρωσαν, ὥς δὲ ὀλίγη πολλῶν ἀφάντων, φλέγριτο πανταχόθεν πόλις; ἄλλοι ἢ τοὺς ὀρεγνομένους ἐμμελῶς ἐμφράξαντες, ἀποσφάλλειν τὸς ὑδρευομένους. *Plut. Cicero. Pag. 869.*

(o) Hoc tempore, cum arderet acerrime, conjuratio: cum *Catilina* egrederetur ad exercitum: *Lentulus* in urbe relinqueretur: *Cassius* incendiis, *Cethegus* cædi præponeretur: *Autronius* ut occuparet *Etruriam*, præscriberetur. *Cicero. Orat. pro Sulla Cap. 19.*

(†) *Cicero. Orat. in Cat. 3.*

(p) Νύξ μὲν εἰσοὺς ὥστε ἢ ἐπίδειξιν μία ἢ χειροδιδω. *Plut. Cicero. Pag. 869.*

be upon one of the *Saturalia*, a great Festival which lasted for Five days, and * began upon XVI Cal. of January, our Seventeenth of December. (q) *Cethegus* complained very much of this delay, that his Company thus Spun out the time and lost their opportunities, that he placing the greatest advantage in expedition, if any few would help him, was ready presently to set upon the Senate. (r) In the mean time his House was made the Magazine of Arms and Fireworks, particularly of Swords, Tow, and Brimstone.

(s) But whilst these things were transacting, another design was attempted by them, which over-did the Plot, and happily ruined the whole Affair: They were desirous not only to strengthen themselves, by drawing in *Citizens* at home, but would add (if possible) some foreign Assistance to *Catiline*: And it happened that there were then two Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, residing at *Rome*; a Nation much oppressed by the *Roman* Government, and which

* Gassendi *Roman. Calend.*

(q) *Inter hæc parata, atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum, illos dubitando, & dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse: Sequæ, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum, Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 43.*

(r) *Ξίφει δὲ καὶ συσπῆϊα καὶ θείον εἰς τὸ Κεδήγῳ φέροντες οὐκ ἴαν ἀπὸ κρυφῶν. Plut. Cicer. Pag. 869.*

(s) *Προσπομένων δὲ τύπων, ἔτυχον ἐπιδημῶντες Ἀλλοβείων Νοστρίσβεις, ἔδρους μάλιστα δὲ τότε πονηρὰ προσήκοιτο, καὶ ἐαρυνομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν; πύτους οἱ περὶ λένιλον ἀφελίμους ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὸ κινήσειν καὶ μέλασθαι τὴν Γαλατίαν, ἐπειήσαντο συγμῶσας. Ibid.*

above all hated it. (1) They were anciently a People who with their Thousands, came down in torrent expeditions upon the parts of *Europe*, but at the time of this Conspiracy, inhabited the Plains and Vallies under the *Alps*; the most considerable of them built the City *Vienna*, formerly a Village, by them made the Metropolis of the Countrey: This *Gallicane Vienna* was situated upon the Banks of *Rhodanus* which flowing violently from the *Alps* into a great Lake, and then running through the Champaign part of the *Allobroges* and *Segusians* mingles its streams with the *Araris* at *Lugdunum*: Which places are now known by the modern Names of *Daulpine*, *Piedmont*, *Savoie*, and the Lake *Lemane*.

The *Gallick* Nation had ever been most fell and fatal to *Rome*, but the Conspirators designing her destruction, these were embraced as the most proper

(1) Αλλόβρογες ἢ μυριάσι πολλαῖς πρότερον μὲν ἐσεῖπτον, νῦν ἢ γαργυροῦσι τὰ πεδία καὶ τὰς αὐλῶνας τὰς ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι; καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κομμηδὸν ζῶσιν, οἱ ἢ ἐπιφανέσονται τὴν Οὐίενναν ἔχοντες, κώμην πρότερον ἦσαν, μητρόπολιν δὲ ὅμως τῶ ἔθνους λεγομένην χατισκυάχασι πόλιν; ἴδρυται δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ροδανῷ; φέρεται δ' ἄνω τῶν πολέων εἶναι πολὺς καὶ σφοδρὸς ὅστις καὶ διὰ λίμνης ἐξιδὼν τῆς μεγάλης, φανερόν δεικνυσὶ τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σάδεις κατελθόν ἢ εἰς τὰ πεδία τῆς χώρας τῆς Αλλοβρογῶν καὶ Σεγυστιανῶν, συμβάλλει τῷ Ἀεραεὶ κατὰ Λύγδυνον πόλιν τῶν Σεγυστιανῶν. Strabo. Lib. 4. Pag. 186.

instruments(u) for this purpose P. Umbrenus, one who had formerly negotiated in their City, and was well known to the Principal Persons among them, was employed to draw them into the Conspiracy; he asked them something of their concerns, pitied their oppression, and demanded of them what end they could expect of their sufferings? After he had heard them complain of the Covetousness of their Magistrates, the negligence of the Senate, and that they could expect nothing but death as a remedy to their miseries, I know, (says he,) if you would acquit your selves like men, by what you may yet be delivered,

(u) *Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat; uti legatos Allobrogum requirat; eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existimans publicè, privatimque ere alieno oppressos, præterea quod naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset; facilius ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus quoddam in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, & quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere capit, quem exitum tantismalis sperarent; postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: 'At ego (inquit) vobis si modo viri esse vultis, ratio- nem ostendam, quâ tanta mala ista effugiat. Hec ubi dixit; Allobroges, in spem maxumam adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissimè facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ere alieno liberaret: Ille eos in domum D. Brutiperducit; quoddam foro propinqua erat; neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam; nam sum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea, Gabbinius accersit, quod major auctoritas sermoni inesset: Eo præsentem conjurationem aperit: nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios; quod legatis animus amplior esset: Dein eos, pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. Sall. Bell. Cat. . 40,*

This rais'd great hopes in the *Allobroges*, they beseeched him to have Mercy on them; that nothing should be so dreadful or difficult, but they would most readily undertake it, to free their City from the Debts wherewith it was encumber'd.

He led them into the House of *D. Brutus*, which stood near the *Forum*, and (*Brutus* himself being out of Town) was by the interest of *Sempronia*, at the service of the Conspirators. Besides, to add greater Authority to the Proposals he called in *Gabinus* and then opens the whole Plot, names all that were really engaged in it, besides many more of every quality, who knew nothing of it, that he might enlarge the hopes and resolutions of the Ambassadors; they promised their aid, and so were at present dismiss'd.

(w) But upon farther considerations the *Allobroges* became very unresolv'd what to do: On one side their oppressing Debts, their love of War, the great rewards of Victory, much inclined them; on the other, greater alliance, safer Councils, certain recompence instead of uncertain hopes, offered themselves: amidst these Thoughts at length the good fortune of

(w) Sed *Allobroges* diu in incertum habuere, quidnam concilii caperent: in altera parte erat res alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ: At in altera majores operæ, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hec illis volventibus, tandem vicis fortuna reipublicæ, itaque *Q. Fabio Sangæ* cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiuunt: Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcipit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros addeant; bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 41.

the Common-wealth prevailed (x) They communicate the whole design to *Fabius Sanga*, the Patron of their City, (as it was the manner of all the Cities abroad to have their particular Defensors at Rome.)

Sanga goes presently and opens all to *Cicero*, who directs, him to command the Ambassadors that they should conceal their discovery, pretend a vast desire to execute the Plot, visit each Conspirator, promise their utmost assistance, and above all endeavour to get as much evidence as possible.

(y) To this purpose the *Allobrogi* by *Cicero's* command get *Gabinus* to call all the Conspirators together, and then demanded of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Cassius*, a formal Oath to be made by them, which should be signed and sealed, and so sent to their Citizens; otherwise they could not possibly draw them in to undertake so great an affair. This was consented to, by all but *Cassius*, who suspecting the intrigue, withdrew a little, promising to return again presently, but from thence went out of Town before the Ambassadors.

(z) *Lentulus* thought fit afterwards that one from among themselves should be sent home with the Am-

(x) 'Οι δ' Ἀλλόβρογες ἐνδιάσαντες, κοινοῶσαντο Φαβίῳ Σάγγα, ὅς ἦν πᾶν Ἀλλοβρόγων προστάτης, ὥσπερ ἀπάσαι πόλεις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρστάτης. Appian. de Bell. Civil. Lib. 2.

(y) *Allobroges* ex præcepto *Ciceronis* per *Gabinium* ceteros conveniunt: ab *Lentulo*, *Cethego*, *Statilio*, item *Cassio* postulant jus-jurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant, aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelliposse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant. *Cassius* semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 44.

(z) *Lentulus* cum his *Titum Vulturium* quendam *Crotoniensem* mittit; uti *Allobroges*, prius quam domum pergerent cum *Catili-
na*, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ibid.

bassadours, who might by the way carry Letters to *Catiline*, and see them give mutual assurance of their fidelity (a) the Person pitched upon was *Titus* of *Crotona*, to whom were committed such Letters as were then sent.

(b) Things having proceeded thus far it was appointed that upon IV. *Non. Dec.* which is our Second of *December*, the *Allobrogi*ans should in the Night as privately as possible begin their Journey; which *Cicero* being advised of by the Ambassadors did provide for before hand, by sending *Flaccus* and *Pomptinus* two Prætors to lie in wait for them at the *Milvian* Bridge: (c) The Company arrived there by that the third Watch of the Night was almost expired (which with us is near Three a Clock in the Morning) and were presently beset by two Parties that lay on each side the Bridge, (d) As soon as the Prætors came in, the *Gallicanes* knowing the design, surrendered themselves: *Titus Vulturcius* the Letter-carrier begg'd of them to stand upon their defence, he drew his Sword, and for a while defended himself from the Multitude, but at last being deserted by the Ambassadors, he conjur'd *Pomptinus* to whom he was well known, to preserve him; at last fearful and distrusting his Life he submitted to the Prætors as Enemies.

(a) Τίτον πρὸς Κροτωνιάτην κομίζοντα τὰς ἐπιστολάς. Plut. *Cicer.* Pag. 869.

(b) His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, quâ profiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco, & C. Pomptino Prætoribus imperat ut in ponte Milvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. Sall. *Bell. Cat.* Cap. 45.

(c) Cicero. *Orat.* in Cat. 3.

(d) Galli citò cognito concilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt: Vulturcius primò cohortatus ceteros gladio se à multitudine defendit; dein ubi à legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat; postremò, timidus, ac vitæ diffidens velut hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit. Sall. *Bell. Cat.* Cap. 45.

(*) An account of this was presently dispatch'd to the Consul; the Ambassadors and the Letter-carrier brought to his House at Rome; Cicero immediately sends for the Conspirators and (e) Summons the Senate by break of day to meet in the Temple of Concord: Taking a good Omen from the place, (f) it being built by *Furius Camillus*, upon reconciling a dissension between the Senate and People. Then (g) leading in the Prætor *Lentulus* in his own Hand, he read the Letters, Examined the Evidence, impeached the Conspirators: (h) And having provided three Persons of very good Reputation, and excellency in writing, *C. Cosconius* a Prætor, *M. Messala* a Candidate for the Prætorship, and *App. Claudius* who took Notes of all that passed, he did in the afternoon in a fully Assembly of the People give them a most particular account of the whole affair in the following Oration.

(*) Cicer. Orat. in Cat. 3.

(c) Ἄμα ὃ ἡμέτερά τε καὶ ἀλλήνων ἀνδράσιν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ὀμονοίας ἵσθον, ἐξαγγέλλω τὰ γεγνημένα, καὶ τῶν μινυτῶν δεικνύων.
Plut. Cicer. Pag. 869.

(f) *Furius antiquus populi superator Hetrusci*

Voverat, & voti solverat ille fidem.

Causa, quod à patribus sumptis secesserat omnis

Valgus, & ipsa suas, Roma timebat opes.

Ovid.

(g) Consul *Lentulum*, quod Prætor erat; ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in eadem concordie venire jubet. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 46.

(h) Quos sciebam memoriâ, scientiâ, consuetudine, & celeritate scribendi, facillime, quæ dicerentur, persequi posse *C. Cosconium*, qui tunc erat Prætor. *M. Messalam*, qui Præturam petebat: *P. Nigidium*, *App. Claudium*.
Cicer. Orat. pro Sulla, cap. 14.

Cicero's

Cicero's Third Oration against Catiline.

1. * **Y**OU see now, O *Quirites*, this Common-
 wealth, your Lives, your Goods, your
 Estates, your Wives, your Children, this Seat of the
 most renowned Empire, this flourishing and glorious
 City, this Day by the infinite goodness of the Im-
 mortal Gods towards you, and by my Labours,
 Counsels, Hazards, rescued from the Flame, from
 the Sword, and from the very Jaws of Destruction,
 preserved and restored to you. And if those Days
 in which we are preserved, are no less memorable, and
 happy, to us, than those in which we were Born; since
 the condition into which we are Born is uncertain,
 but a present deliverance is matter of certain joy;
 since we are Born inapprehensive, but when preser-
 ved are able to recount the Pleasures of our enjoy-
 ments: And if with thankfulness and glory, we
 placed *Romulus* the Founder of this City among the
 Immortal Gods; then surely he who saved this same
 City so built, so augmented, so beautified deserves
 to be had in Honour with you and your Posterity.
 For we have restrained those Flames which were just
 kindling, and surrounding the Temples, the Shrines,
 the Houses, and Walls of the whole City; we have
 repelled those Swords that were drawn upon the

(*) *Rempublicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium ve-*
stram. &c.

Common-wealth, we have put by their points from your Throats. Which having been discovered, examined, and proved by me in the Senate, I will now briefly recount to you also, O *Quirites*, that those of you who are not yet acquainted therewith, but are in expectation, may apprehend how great and manifest they are, by what means they were found out and obtained by us. First, Since *Catiline* a few Days ago hurried out of the City, and left the Associates of his Villany, the fierce Captains of this horrid War at *Rome*, I continually watch'd and provided, O *Quirites*, that we might be safe amidst so great and hidden treacheries.

2. For when I cast *Catiline* out of the City (a word of envy I am not now afraid of, I rather fear the letting him have gone alive) then, when I sought to root him out, I was confident either the whole Band of Conspirators would go along with him, or those that tarried behind must without him be impotent and ineffective; and when I saw many, whom I knew inflamed with the greatest rage and wickedness, still left among us at *Rome*; I so spent all my Days, and Nights, as I might best pry into both what they did and designed: That since the incredible greatness of this Treason, must needs diminish the credit of my Oration, I might so possess my self of the Affair, as not to put you upon providing for your safety, till with your own Eyes, you beheld the destructive danger. Therefore, so soon as I found the *Allobrogian* Ambassadors were Solicited by *P. Lentulus*, to stir up a *Transalpine* War, and a *Gallick* Sedition; that they were sent to their own Citizens, and in the same Journey were to deliver Letters, and instructions to *Catiline*; that *Titus Vulturcius* was joined Agent with them, and to him were

' were the Letters to *Catiline* committed ; I reckoned I
 ' had got the greatest opportunity, to compass that
 ' which seemed most difficult, and which above all I
 ' ever begg'd of the Immortal Gods : that this Con-
 ' spiracy might not only be made manifest to me, but
 ' to the Senate and you. To this purpose I yesterday
 ' sent for to me *L. Flaccus*, and *C. Pomptinus*, valiant
 ' Prætors, and great lovers of the Common-wealth;
 ' I told them the whole Affair, and shewed them
 ' what I would have done. They, (whose designs
 ' were ever generous, and advantageous for the Pub-
 ' lick) without any scruple, or delay, undertook the
 ' business, and so soon as it began to be dark, went
 ' privately to the *Milvian* Bridge; so posting them-
 ' selves in two Parties about the Neighbouring Villa-
 ' ges, that *Tiber* and the Bridge were between them,
 ' Thither also, without any suspicion, they drew ma-
 ' ny Valiant men; and several choice young Gentle-
 ' men taken out of the *Reatine* præfecture, (whose
 ' assistance I continually make use of in preserving the
 ' Common-wealth,) I sent thither with their Swords.
 ' As the third Watch of the Night was almost expired,
 ' the *Allobrogian* Ambassadors with a great retinue,
 ' and *T. Vulturcius* with them, began to enter upon the
 ' Bridge ; an onset was made upon them, and Swords
 ' drawn on both sides; the two Prætors only knew
 ' the design, the rest acted meerly upon their dire-
 ' ction.

3. ' Then *Pomptinus*, and *Flaccus* coming in, pre-
 ' sently appeased the fight; all Letters whatsoever
 ' were delivered as sealed to the Prætors; and every
 ' one of them that were taken, brought before me
 ' about break of Day. Presently I sent for that *Cim-
 ' brian Gabinius*, the impious contriver of all these
 ' Villanies (while he suspected nothing) to appear
 ' be-

‘ before me. Then I call’d for *P. Statilius*, and after him
 ‘ *C. Cethegus* : but last of all, and much indisposed
 ‘ came *Lentulus* ; I believe he had sat up very late the
 ‘ Night before, to write Letters more than ordinary.
 ‘ In the Morning there came to me the greatest and
 ‘ most eminent Persons of the City, who hearing the
 ‘ news were mightily of the Opinion that I should
 ‘ open the Letters before I brought them into the
 ‘ Senate ; lest they not answering expectation I
 ‘ should seem to have raised too great an hurry in the
 ‘ City : But I was positive, not to do any thing in such a
 ‘ publick danger, without referring it to the publick
 ‘ Council. For in my Opinion, O *Quirites*, if those
 ‘ things which had been discovered to me, had not
 ‘ been found out, yet I think in so great dangers of
 ‘ the Common-wealth, I could not fear the using of
 ‘ too much diligence. I presently summoned (as you
 ‘ all know) a full Senate : And in the mean time, by
 ‘ the advice of the *Allobrogians*, I sent *C. Sulpicius* a
 ‘ Prætor, and very trusty, to search the House of
 ‘ *C. Cethegus* for Arms, and to bring with him, what
 ‘ he found there : From whence he hath now brought
 ‘ me a very great number of Daggers, and Swords.

4. ‘ I introduced *T. Vulturcius* without the *Galli-*
 ‘ *canes*, and by command of the Senate, promised
 ‘ him the publick Faith : exhorting him without any
 ‘ fear to speak plainly what he knew. At length,
 ‘ when he had recovered himself out of a pannick fear,
 ‘ he confessed he was sent by *P. Lentulus* with Letters,
 ‘ and instructions to *Catiline*, to advise him that he
 ‘ would use even all the servile assistance he could get,
 ‘ and as soon as possible draw towards the City with an
 ‘ Army. And with this design, that so soon as they
 ‘ had fired every part of it, as it had been divided
 ‘ and distributed among them ; so soon as they had

‘ ac-

accomplished their Massacre of the Citizens, he might be at hand to snare those that fled, and then join himself with these City-Captains. Then were the *Gallicane* Embassadors introduced, who declared, that they had an Oath administered to them, and Letters from *P. Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, addressing to their Countrey; that they were directed by *L. Cassius* to bring their Horse as soon as they could into *Italy*, and not to be too slow with their Foot Forces: That *Lentulus* did very much assure himself out of the *Sybilline* Prophecies and Divinations of the Augurs, he should be the Third *Cornelius*, who must needs come to the Government of this City and Empire, the two before him having been *Cinna*, and *Sylla*; that this Year must be fatal to the City and Empire, as being the Tenth since the Virgins absolution, the Twentieth since the burning of the Capitol: But this they said was the only dispute between *Cethegus*, and the rest, they would have the Massacre, and firing of the City to be upon the *Saturnalia*; *Cethegus* thought that too long a delay.

5. 'Not to be tedious, O *Quirites*, we commanded the Letters to be produced, as they were said to have been delivered to them, by any Person; First, We shewed *Cethegus* his Seal, he acknowledged it; then we broke it open, and read it written in his own hand, that he would perform to the Senate, and People of the *Allobroges* whatsoever he had undertaken to their Ambassadors; and pray'd them to observe those instructions their Ambassadors now brought them. Then *Cethegus* who a little before had made some evasions to those Swords and Daggers that were taken in his House, saying, That he was ever a lover of good Arms; upon reading the Letter

ter was so strangely dejected and amazed that re-
strain'd by Conscience he spake not a word more :
Statilius being brought in, acknowledged both his
Hand and Seal: then were his Lettets read of the
same import with the former, which without more
ado he confessed. Then I shewed *Lentulus* his Let-
ter, and asked him whether he would acknow-
ledge his Seal, which he did: I told him 'twas very well
known, the Effigies of his Grandfather, an eminent
Person one who most entirely lov'd his Countrey and
his fellow Citizens; I told him the very silent ap-
pearance thereof, might have been sufficient to re-
call him from such a villanous enterprize. The Letters
also to the Senate, and People of the *Allobroges* were
read, and I gave him liberty to speak if he had any
thing in relation to them: At first he denied all, then
the whole Evidence being given and opened, he
rose up, and ask'd the *Gallicanes*, what he ever had
to do with them, or to what purpose they should
ever come to his House: The same he also demand-
ed of *Vulturcius*. They answered with brevity,
and constancy, who it was that brought them thi-
ther and how often they had been there; and they
asked him, whether he had never spoken to them of
the *Sybilline* Oracle; But then immediately confound-
ed with the Treason (such is the power of Con-
science!) he declared, 'twas so. He might have
denied the whole, but to the amazement of all pre-
sent he made a surprizing confession. Thus not on-
ly his Wit and Eloquence for which he was always
so eminent, failed him; but such was the convic-
tion of his discovered and exposed Treason, that
his very impudence and equivocation, wherein he
had no equal, were at an utter loss. *Vulturcius* then
presently demanded that the Letters which were
given

'given to him from *Lentulus* to *Catiline*, might be
 'produced and opened : At which *Lentulus*, was in
 'an extream disturbance, yet he acknowledged his
 'Hand and Seal: They had no Name to them, but
 'the words were these, *Who I am you will know by*
 '*him whom I have sent to you, consider well in what*
 '*necessity you are, and remember to be valiant : Con-*
 '*sider what the Estate of your Affairs requires ; ask*
 '*aid of all even the meanest.*——*Gabinus* being then
 'brought in began to answer with a great deal of im-
 'pudence but at last denied nothing of what the *Gal-*
 '*licanes* had accused him. And though O *Quirites*,
 'the Letters, the Hands, and Seals, lastly every
 'Mans own confession seemed to me undeniable Ar-
 'guments, and Evidences of the Treason ; yet their
 'Colours, their Eyes, their Countenances, their si-
 'lence, gave me much greater Assurance of their
 'Guilt. So were they amazed, so did they look
 'down, so did they sometimes steal a look from one
 'another that they seemed, not to have been discove-
 'red by others but by themselves.

6. The Evidences being thus given and opened, I
 'did then, O *Quirites*, ask the Senate what was best
 'to be done, for preservation of the Common-wealth.
 'Many brave and important Proposals were offered by
 'the principal Members, which the Senate very una-
 'nimously followed. And because in our Memory,
 'O *Quirites*, the Votes have not been enrolled, I
 'will give you an account what was the sense of the
 'House. First, Thanks were given me in the largest
 'expressions, for that by my Virtue, Counsel, and
 'Care, the Common-wealth had been delivered from
 'the greatest dangers. Then were *L. Flaccus*, and
 'C. *Pomptinus* the Prætors, whose faithful and valiant
 'assistance I made use of most deservedly honoured.

And

And also that excellent Person my Collegue, had thanks imparted to him, for removing from his own and the publick Counsels, all the Abettors of this Conspiracy. Then it was resolved that *P. Lentulus* renouncing the Prætorship, should be committed. That *C. Cethegus*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinus*, who were all present, should be also committed. The same Decree passed against *L. Cassius*, who took upon himself the management of burning the City; against *M. Cæparius*, to whom, as it was discovered, *Apulia* was assign'd, that he might raise the Shepherds of that Countrey: Against *P. Furius*, a principal Person of those Colonies which *L. Sulla* planted at *Fæsulæ*: Against *Q. Manlius Cbilo*, who all along assisted *Furius* in soliciting the *Allobrogians*: Against *P. Umbrenus* a Freeman, by whom as it appeared, those *Gallicanes* were first brought to *Gabinus*. And the Senate used such moderation, O *Quirites*, that out of so great a Conspiracy, so great an Interest, so great a Multitude of Domestick Enemies, only by the punishment of Nine most profligate Wretches, it was their Opinion the Commonwealth might be preserved, the Minds of all the rest that were disaffected restored to a temper. There was also, O *Quirites*, a publick Thanksgiving to the Immortal Gods for their especial goodness to us, decreed in my Name; which no Gown-man ever yet obtained since this City was built; the Words of the Decree were these: That I had delivered the City from burning, the Citizens from Massacre, Italy from War. Which Thanksgiving, O *Quirites*, compared with others, hath this difference; they were appointed for a good management of the Commonwealth, this alone for its preservation. That which was first requisite to be done was accordingly transacted; For *P. Lentulus*

I

con-

‘ convicted by the Evidence, by his own confession, by
 ‘ the judgment of the Senate, did not only lose
 ‘ the right of a Prætor, but of a Citizen, and laid
 ‘ down his Magistracy: That (though respect to the
 ‘ Authority, did not restrain the renowned *C. Mar-*
 ‘ *cius*, from killing *C. Glaucias* Prætor, of whom no-
 ‘ thing was by Name decreed) we might be delivered
 ‘ even from the Religious awe of that, by now pu-
 ‘ nishing *P. Lentulus* as a private Person.

‘ ‘ 7. Now, *Quirites*, these impious Leaders of the
 ‘ most horrid and dangerous War are taken and comit-
 ‘ ted, you may conclude; that all the Forces of *Ca-*
 ‘ *tiline*, all his hopes, all his strength are ruined in
 ‘ the suppression of these. Whom when I had driven out
 ‘ of the City, I foresaw so far gone, O *Quirites*, that
 ‘ neither the drowlsiness of *P. Lentulus*, nor the fat of
 ‘ *L. Cassius*, nor the furious rashness of *Cethegus*, was
 ‘ any more to be dreaded. He alone was to be feared,
 ‘ and that only so long as he was harboured within the
 ‘ City Walls. Then, he knew every thing, had access
 ‘ to every Man; then, could, and dared send about,
 ‘ solicit, suborn: He had advice for every enterprise,
 ‘ nor was his Tongue, or his Hand wanting to the
 ‘ Execution of his Counsels. Now he hath some men
 ‘ chosen, and appointed for accomplishing his de-
 ‘ signs; but he was wont never to think any thing
 ‘ done when he had given Orders for it; there
 ‘ was no thing but what he himself would un-
 ‘ dertake, he would set upon it, watch over
 ‘ it, labour in it; he could bear Cold, and Thirst,
 ‘ and Hunger. And therefore this Man, so eager,
 ‘ so provided, so bold, so cunning, so watchful in
 ‘ villany, so active in Treason, if I had not driven
 ‘ him out of his Domestick lurkings, into his Rendez-
 ‘ vous of Rogues abroad (I tell you truly, O *Qui-*
 ‘ *rites*,

rites, what I think) I could not easily have lifted
 this vast burden of mischief off your Necks. If he
 had been here, he would never have appointed the
Saturnalia for you, nor would he have so long de-
 clared the destruction and fatal Day to the Common-
 wealth; nor would he ever have committed such an
 over-sight, that his Seal, and his Letters should be
 produced as Evidences of his manifest Treason.
 Which now in his absence are so managed that there
 never was any Robbery of a private House so
 plainly found out, as this Conspiracy against the
 Common-wealth is evidently detected and appre-
 hended. But, if *Catiline* had continued in the City
 to this Day, though I had as much as possible met
 and resisted his designs; yet, to speak the least, we
 must have engaged with him; nor could we ever
 whilst he continued an Enemy in the City have freed
 the Common-wealth from so great hazards with such
 Peace, such Quiet, such Silence.

8. Though I must confess, O *Quirites*, all these
 things were so managed by me, that they seem to
 have been both laid and performed by the direction
 and counsel of the Immortal Gods. This we may
 very well conclude of, because humane Counsels
 can hardly seem to sway so great Transactions; then,
 at each nick of time they afforded such present re-
 lief and assistance that we have had almost an ocular
 demonstration of them. For if I should pass over
 those blazing Stars seen in the West, the Heavens
 burning, the Thunderbolts, the Earthquakes, and
 many other such things, which in the time of our
 Consulship have been so numerous, that the Immor-
 tal Gods seem themselves to have proclaimed what
 hath now been done. Yet this, O *Quirites*, which
 I am now about to say, must by no means be pass'd
 over

'over or left out. You cannot but remember that
 'when *Cotta* and *Torquatus* were Consuls, a great
 'deal of the Capitol was destroyed by Lightning, the
 'Images of the Immortal Gods beaten down, the
 'Statues of our Ancestors broken, the Brass upon which
 'our Laws were Engraven, melted: And particular-
 'ly, *Romulus* the Founder of this City was struck;
 'there (as you know,) he lay, a golden Infant suc-
 'king, and gaping after the Teats of the Wolf. At
 'which time the Augurs flock't together out of all *He-*
 '*truria*, and declared that there were Massacres and
 'Fires, Eversion of Laws, Civil and Domestick
 'Wars, destruction of the whole City, and Empire,
 'approaching; unless the Immortal Gods being ap-
 'peased should through their Divinity change as it
 'were the very course of Fate. By their advice a Ju-
 'bilee was held for Ten Days, nor was any thing omit-
 'ted which appertain'd to mitigate the displeasure of
 'the Gods: 'Twas also by the same Persons enjoind,
 'that *Jupiter* should have a greater Image, placed on
 'high and (contrary to what formerly it was)
 'the Face turned towards the East: And so they gave
 'us hopes, if that Image (which you behold,) look't
 'toward the rising of the Sun, the *Forum*, and the
 '*Curia*; then would all the Counsels, which were
 'privately entered upon, against the safety of this
 'City, and Empire, be so detected that the Senate
 'and whole *Roman* People might see thoroughly into
 'them. And thus those Consuls Decreed it to be pla-
 'ced: But so slowly was it carried on, that neither
 'by the former Consuls, nor by us hath it been ac-
 'complished before this Day.

9. 'Here, O *Quirites*, who can be so averse from
 'Truth, so mad, so stupid, as to deny all these things
 'which we see, especially, this City to be managed
 'by

' by the direction and power of the Immortal Gods?
 ' For when it was then interpreted, that there was
 ' a Massacre, a Fire, an over-throw of the Common-
 ' wealth preparing, and all by mischievous Citizens,
 ' which yet for the greatness of the Villanies seem'd
 ' incredible, you now find that such things were not
 ' only intended but attempted. Did it not fall out just
 ' so as to appear to be effected by the Providence of
 ' the best, and greatest *Jove*; that when yesterday Mor-
 ' ning the Conspirators, and their discoverers were by
 ' my order led through the *Forum*, at that very time,
 ' the Statue should be erected? Which by its situation
 ' being turned towards you and the Senate, the Senate
 ' and you have now beheld, all those things that were
 ' contrived against the safety of the Common-wealth,
 ' clear'd, and proved. Of how much greater hatred then,
 ' and punishment are they worthy, who have endea-
 ' voured to throw their impious Fires not only into
 ' your Houses, and Lodgings, but into the Shrines
 ' and Temples of the Gods: Which if I should say
 ' I had restrained it would be intolerable presumption.
 ' 'Twas he, 'twas *Jupiter* that withstood them: He sa-
 ' ved the Capitol, these Temples, this City; he pre-
 ' served you all. From the Immortal Gods, O
 ' *Quirites*, I received my understanding, my will,
 ' by them was I led to these so great discoveries.
 ' And for the solicitation of the *Allobrogians*, by *Len-*
 ' *tulus*, and the rest of our domestick Enemies, so great
 ' an Affair had never been trusted to Persons so un-
 ' known and forraign, those Letters had certainly ne-
 ' ver been Committed to them, unless by the Immor-
 ' tal Gods, they had been infatuated and all Counsel
 ' snatch'd away from so bold an enterprife. Then
 ' that the *Gallicane* People of a discontented City, the
 ' only remaining People that seem able to make War

upon the *Romans*, and yet not do it; that these should neglect the hopes of Empire, and the greatest advantages profer'd to them even by *Patricians*, and prefer your safety before their own profit: Do you think that this was not eminently the Divine work? Especially when they needed not have used force, but only have kept silence and overcome us.

10. Wherefore, O *Quirites*, since Prayers are decreed at every Altar, go, and celebrate these Days with your Wives and Children; many Honours just and due have been given to the Immortal Gods, but more just than these were never any: For, snatcht from the most cruel, and miserable destruction, (and snatcht you were, without Slaughter, without Blood, without an Army, without the least Affray, (in your Gowns have you overcome under the conduct and command of one Gownman. Now do but call to mind, O *Quirites*, those Seditions, not only which you have heard of, but those which you your selves remember, and have seen; *L. Sulla* suppress'd *P. Sulpicius*; cast *C. Marius* Keeper of the City out of it: And of many other brave men, some he banish'd, some he put to death. *Cn. Octavius* the Consul, by force of Arms drove his own Colleague out of the City. Then was this place heaped with the Bodies, and flowing with the Blood of the Citizens. Afterwards *Cinna* with *Marius* overcame, and then so many Eminent men were slain, that the Lights of the City seem'd extinguish'd. At length *Sylla* reveng'd the cruelty of this Victory. But there is no need to tell you with what destruction of Citizens, with how great Calamity to the whole Commonwealth, *M. Lepidus* oppos'd that most worthy and brave Man, *Q. Catulus*; but his fall gave not such occasion to the Commonwealth to mourn, as it did to those Persons

Persons that were concerned with him. Such as these, O *Quirites*, were the former Seditions; yet were they not design'd for subversion, but only for alteration of the Government: They did not desire to have no Common-wealth, but only to be chief in that which was; they did not wish to burn down the City, but only to be advanced in it; yet all these Seditions, (none of which aimed at the destruction of the Common-wealth,) were at last determin'd, not by a peaceful Reconciliation, but by a Bloody Slaughter of the Citizens. This one, alone, since the Memory of Man, the greatest and most cruel War, such a War as the worst Salvages never attempted upon their own People, in which was the Law made by *Lentulus*, *Catiline*, *Cassius*, *Cethegus*, that all those who were safe, while the City was safe, should be accounted among the number of Enemies: I have so managed Affairs, O *Quirites*, that you are all preserved in safety, that when your Enemies intended there should be no more Citizens left than a boundless Massacre could not devour, so much only of the City as the Flames could not consume, I have kept both the City and the Citizens, entire, untouched.

I I. For all which eminent Service, O *Quirites*, I ask of you no reward of Virtue, no Ensign of Honour, no Monument of Praise, but only the perpetual Memory of this Day. I would have all my Triumphs, all Ornaments of Honour, all Monuments of Glory, all Ensigns of Praise, to be placed and treasured up in your affections. None of those dumb shews and pictur'd Honours which the less worthy can attain, delight me: Our Affairs are cherished in your Memory, O *Quirites*, they grow by your Discourses, they shall be strengthened and per-

petuated by the Monuments of History: That Day I mean, which I hope will be eternally Commemorated, which was created for the preservation of of this City, and Glory of my Consulship. When at the same time, there were two Citizens in this Commonwealth, one of which terminated the Bounds of your Empire, not by the extent of Earth, but the Regions of Heaven; the other saved the House and Seat of the same Empire.

12. But because the state and condition of those Affairs I have managed, make my Circumstances very different from those Persons who wage the foreign Wars; for I must live among those I have conquered and subdued; they either destroy their Enemies or quit them, when reduced; it lies upon you, O *Quirites*, to provide that if their good actions advantage them, mine may not prejudice me. I have taken care that the impious and cruel designs of these most audacious Men have done you no hurt, now you must take care that they hurt not me. Though for my own part, O *Quirites*, I can not be much hurt by them; there is the greatest Guard in good men, whom I am now for ever assured of: There is a great reverence to the Commonwealth, which will always, even when silent, defend me: There is a great power of Conscience, which, when those that neglect it, would destroy me, shall make them betray themselves. There is also such a resolved mind in you, O *Quirites*, that we shall not only not give place to any Mans audaciousness, but we shall ever freely provoke all the base and villanous. What if all the rage of our domestick Enemies was remov'd from you, and turned upon me alone? Then must you provide, O *Quirites*, as considering in what condition you would hereafter have those to be, who
for

for your sakes have offered up themselves to envy and all hazards. What more is there that I can add to the enjoyments of my life especially since as to the Honour and the Praise of Virtue, I can see nothing higher to which I may ascend? This only would I aim at, O *Quirites*, that what I have done in my Consulship I may, when a private Person, defend and adorn: That if there be any envy to be sustain'd for preserving the Common-wealth, it may hurt the envious; and turn to my glory. Lastly, I will ever so behave my self in the Common-wealth, as always remembring what I have already performed and that so agreeably, that it may appear all my performances have been directed by Virtue, not by chance. And now, O *Quirites*, because the Night approaches, worship *Jupiter*, the Keeper of this City, and of you: Depart to your own Houses, and (although the danger seems to be over) yet with the same guard and watchfulness defend them, as you did the Night before. That you may not long be put to this trouble, but that you may be established in perpetual Peace, shall be my care.

(i) This Oration took extreamly with the People, but chiefly upon this account, that while *Cicero* was speaking, the Image of *Jupiter* was placed in the

(i) Καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὁμοίως ἤρεται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τὸ Κικέρωνος δημηγοροῦντος πρὸς αὐτῶν, τὸ ἀγαλλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν ἔκειτο τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀντιδρῦσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν μάντεων, πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολάς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν βλέπον ἀντιτῆθαι; ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε συνωμοσίαν πρὸς ἐξέλεγχον εἰσέλασαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγαλλμαῖς πρῶτως εἰρήκωσαν, καὶ ὁ ἀνάθεσις αὐτῶν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς συνέβαινε; τὸ τε θεῖον ἐμμεγαλυνον, καὶ τὰς αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' ὁργῆς μάλλον ἐποιῶντο. Dio Cassi. Lib. 37. Pag. 50. & 51.

Capitol,

Capitol, looking (as the Diviners had directed) towards the rising Sun and the great *Forum*; for since the Conspiracy had been foretold by the ruine of the former Image, and the seizing of the Conspirators fell out just at the erecting this, the Populace ador'd the Divinity, and grew much more enraged at those who had provoked the wrath of Heaven against them.

(k) That Night were the Vestal Solemnities kept in Cicero's House, to which it was esteemed the highest profaneness for any but Women to have access; the principal Person at the celebration was usually the Consuls Wife or Mother: Cicero therefore with two or three Friends retiring into a Neighbours House, sat

(k) Ἦσαν δ' ἐσπέραι οὐραὶ, καὶ τὴν δῆμῳ πεινόμεντος ἀθροῦ, προσελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ προστιμωρεῖς, παρήλθον εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτῶντος; ἐπεί δ' ἔκρινε γυναῖκες κατ' ἕχρον, ἱερῆς ἀπορρήτοις ἐργάζουσαι ὄντες, ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Ἀγαθὴν, Ἑλλήνες δ' Ὑπνακτείας ὀνομαζούσαι; εἰσὶναι δ' αὐτῇ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπέρτερον; δια γυναικὸς ἢ μητρὸς αὐτῆς, τῶν ἐσπέρων παρδόνων παρῶν. Εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Κικέρων, καὶ αὐτὸν, ὀλίγων πάντας αὐτῶ παρῶν, ἐρρόντιζεν ὅπως χρῆσασθε τοῖς ἀνδράσι; τὴν τε γὰρ ἀκρὰ καὶ προσέειπεν ἀδελφίμασι παλικύροις τιμωρεῖαν ἐξευλαβεῖτο καὶ χαλῶκεν, δι' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἢ θῆς ἅμα, καὶ ὡς μὴ δοκοῖν φῆς ἐξεστὶς ἔγχειν ἐκροσθεῖσαι, καὶ περὶ ἐπιμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτον, καὶ φίλους δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει κακωμένους; μαλακώτερον τε χρῆσασθαι, ὁρῶσθαι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κίνδυνον; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπῶσιν, μειώτερον ἢ θανάτῳ παθόντας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἀναρραγῆσθαι τόλμης, τῇ παλαιᾷ κακίᾳ νέαν ὄργην προσλαβόντας; αὐτὸς τε δόξειν ἀνάνδρες καὶ μαλακοί, οὐ δ' ἄλλως δοκῶν εὐτολμοῦται εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς; ταῦτα τὰ Κικέρων διαπορεύσθαι; γίνεσθαι ἢ ταῖς γυναῖξιν σημείον δυνάσεως; ὁ γὰρ βωμὸς; ἦ δὴ τὸ πῦρ κατὰ κακομῆδαι δοκῶσθαι, ἐκ τῆς τέρας καὶ τῇ κακωμένων φρεσὶν φλόγα πολλὴν αἰνῆκα καὶ λαμπράν. Ὅφ' ἡς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διαφθορήσονται, αἱ δ' ἱερᾶς παρῶν τὴν τῷ Κικέρων γυναῖκα. Τερψίπαιδα ἐκάλειψαν δ' ἵππερς χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρᾶ, καλεῖσθαι ὅς ἐγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς παλίδος; ὡς μέγα πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῶ τῆς διφῶς διδασκῆς: Pluta. Cicer. Pag. 879.

Melancholy,

Melancholy, and musing in great doubt what to do. He could not resolve to be severe and execute punishments proportionable to the crimes, not only from his own inclinations to lenity, but because he would not seem too much exalted with Authority, as he must, if he did according to the measures of Justice proceed against so many noble Persons, who were surrounded with the friendship of the most potent men in the City. Yet he dreaded the danger of determining more mildly, for should they suffer any thing less than death, they would not love him for his Mercy, but break out into greater excesses, their old anger would be enflamed with new rage. He also would incur the imputations of softness and fear, whose courage was already by many very much disputed.

Amidst these perplexities in came his Wife *Terentia*, commanded by the Vestal Virgins to entreat his prosecution of those Affairs which he had undertaken for the sake of his Countrey : Their Goddess having exhibited a miraculous light as a token of his ensuing safety and glory : for as the Fire lay sleeping upon the Altar in the Brands-ends and Embers, on a sudden a bright flame rose from them, (1) and extended it self to an extraordinary height.

That all these Religious Observations, and the many publick Prodigies then so much insisted upon, should be supposed nothing but mistake & imposture, too much reflects upon the judgment and fidelity of our great Authors, either that they could not discern,

(1) Ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῷ αἵματι παρδύων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόμου ποινδύων, τὸ πῦρ ὅτι μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἶκος ἤρθη. Dio. Cass. Lib. 37. P. 51.

or would not give us an account of the Truth; and on the other side that the Divinity should so evidently appear in such Worship as was a notorious lye, and dishonour to the Majesty of Heaven, is as hard to conceive. But then how far God will pass by these failures, where he hath not offered the opportunities of better information, and men do substantially adore (as (m) Cicero did) a vigilant active over-ruling providence: How far besides the common Witness of rain from Heaven and fruitful Seasons, He will interpose with extraordinary and præternatural occurrences; how far he will appear concerned for maintaining the Interest of Moral Virtues and all those lawful Governments he hath established in the World, against Traitors and Villains who design most barbarously to subvert them, doth not admit of a short determination.

(m). *Talis igitur mens mundi cum sit, ob eamque causam vel prudentia, vel providentia appellari recte possit, (Græcè enim ἀποβόλα dicitur) hæc potissimum providet & in his maxime est occupata, primum ut mundus quam aptissimus sit ad permanendum, deinde ut nulla re egeat, maxime autem ut in eo eximia pulchritudo sit, atque omnis ornatus. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. Lib.*

2. Cap. 22.

Atque videtur Epicurus vester de diis immortalibus non magis cupere pugnare tantummodo negare deos esse non audet, nequid irridere subeat aut crimini. Cum verò deos nihil agere, nihil curare confirmat, membrisque humanis esse præditos, sed eorum membrorum usum nullum habere, ludere videtur. Ibid. Lib. 3.

Cap. 1.

(v) The

(n) The next day one *Lucius Tarquinius* going to join with *Catiline* was apprehended upon the Road, and brought before the Senate: He then promised to discover the Conspiracy if they would give him a public assurance of his Pardon; after which, the Consul bidding him tell what he knew, he related the very same that *Titus Vulturcius* had done as to the intended Fire, Massacre, and March of the Enemy: But then added, that he was sent by *M. Crassus* with this Message to *Catiline*, that he should not be terrified with the seizure of *Lentulus*, and *Cethegus*, and the

(n) *Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat: quem, ad Catilinam proficiscentem, ex itinere retractum aiebant: is cum se diceret de conjuratione indicaturum, si fides publica data esset; jussus a Consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Vulturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: Præterea, se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus, & Cethegus, aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; Eoque magis properarent ad urbem accedere, quod & cæterorum animos reficeret, & illi facilius & periculo eriperentur.*

Sed, ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia; alii rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen si verum existimabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, indicem falsum esse; Deque ea re postulant, uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit, Tarquiniū indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus.

Erant eo tempore, qui existimarent, indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum; quo facilius appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi, reliquos illius potentia tegeret: Alii Tarquiniū a Cicerone immisum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto maiorum patrocinio, remp. conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi a Cicerone impostam. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 48.

rest of the Conspiracy, but make more hast to come upon the City, whereby he would raise the Spirits of his Party, and they might be easily rescued out of danger.

But so soon as ever *Tarquinius* named *Crassus*, a Person Noble, vastly rich, and powerful, some looked upon it as a thing incredible; others, though they thought it might possibly be true, yet to them, at such a time it seemed necessary rather to engage, then exasperate the power of so great a Man: Many that lay under private Obligations to him cried out more impatiently that the Evidence was false, and demanded that the Question might be put to know the Sense of the House; accordingly the Consul *Cicero* proposing it, a resolve passed in full Senate that *Tarquin* was suborn'd, and that he should be committed till he discovered by whose advice he had framed so great a Lie.

There were then several opinions, some thought it devised by *P. Autronius*, that joining *Crassus* in the danger, the Conspirators might cover themselves under his power. Others said that it was contrived by *Cicero*, that *Crassus* himself being aspersed might not by taking upon him (as he used to do) the Patronage of the corrupt party, disturb the settlement of the Common-wealth. Certain 'tis he himself did publicly accuse *Cicero*, as the Author of so great a calumny (o) and ever was his adversary; but his Son *Publius Crassus* a great Philosopher, and lover of

(o) Ὁ δὲ ὕν Κράσσος αἰὲν μὲν ἐμίσει τὸ Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο; ὅτι βλάπτεται ἀναφανδόν, ἐμποδὼν εἶχε τὸ ὕψος; ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὢν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, ἐξήρτητο τῷ Κικέρωνι; ὥστε καὶ συμμεταβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐδῆτα κειρομένην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νόμους πάντα ποιεῖν παραχρῆν; τέλος δὲ τὸν πᾶντα ποιεῖν, φίλον ἐποίησεν. *Plut. Crassus. Pag. 551.*

Learning,

Learning, stood always between them, and with great affection so far sympathiz'd in Cicero's troubles, (which afterwards happen'd) that he and his Companions, (persuaded by him,) put on mourning for him, and at length prevailed upon his Father so far as to effect a reconciliation.

(p) Cicero did on the other hand in one of his Oration's blot Crassus and Cæsar too with a mark of Infamy in this Affair, but it was not published till after they were both dead. At this time certainly he produced nothing against Cæsar which might impeach him as guilty of the horrid design: What the Consuls united fear and prudence might stifle, is suggested rather than asserted.

(q) 'Tis also said that then Q. Catulus (whose constant Virtue, and universal esteem, must be acknowledged to render the story suspected) and C. Piso did never cease importuning Cicero both by intreaties and promises, that he would either by the *Allobrogians*, or some other discoverer get C. Cæsar falsely accused. For they both had a great grudge against him, he being

(p) Ὅμως δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τίνι λόγῳ φανερός ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσιον τὴν ἀτίαν προσειβόμενος; ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν. Ibid.

(q) Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus, & C. Piso neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere quivere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falsò nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebant; Piso, oppugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum: Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus; quòd, extrema ætate, maximis honoribus usus ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat; res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is, privatim egregia liberalitate, publicè maximis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 49.

Pisbo's accuser, in an action of cruel extortion, and *Catulus's* victorious Antagonist for the High-priesthood. And indeed *Cæsar's* circumstances would have rendred his impeachment probably true, he being both by his private generosity and publick munificence fall'n under very heavy Debts.

(F) But the Consul could by no means be prevail'd upon to undertake so vile an enterprize, and therefore they are said to have gone about and scattered stories which they pretended to have heard from *Vulturcius* and the *Allobroges*, whereby they raised a very great storm of envy against *Cæsar*, insomuch that some of the Roman Knights who stood as a Guard about the Temple of *Concord* (where the Senate was assembled) either out of a sense of their danger, or an impulse of affection to shew their zeal for the Common-wealth, were like to have assassinated him, as he came out of the Senate.

(s) But *Cicero* himself was so far from assisting the attempt, that being look'd upon for a little countenance

(r) *Sed ubi Consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt; ipsi sigillatim circumueñdo atque ementiendo, quæ se ex Vulturcio, Allobrogibus, audisse dicerent, magnam illi inuidiam conflagrant; usque adeo, uti nonnulli equites R. qui præsidii causâ cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi mobilitate impulsæ, quò studium; suum in remp. clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitantur. Ibid.*

(s) Ἀυτὸς τε ὁ Κικέρων, ὡς οἱ νεανίσκοι προσέβλεψαν, ἀνανύσαι; φοβηθεὶς τὸν δῆμον, ἢ τὸν φόρον, ὅπως ἀδικον καὶ παράνομον ἤγμεν. — ἄλλαν δ' εἶχεν ὕπερον, ὡς ἀείπει καὶ τότε παρὰ τὴν κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρος μὴ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποδειλάσας τὸν δῆμον, ὑπερφῶς πειρώμενον τὸν Καίσαρος. Plutar. Cæsar. Pag. 711.

he shewed the greatest dislike, knowing how much the People would resent it; or rather he esteemed it an unjust and illegal Murder. Yet in after-times some would needs blame the Consul for not taking that opportunity of suppressing *Cæsar*, as if he then only chose to endear himself to the People, by preserving their Favourite. So that then there was nothing considerable alledged by *Cicero* against *Cæsar*, and if there was any thing afterward it must be either from some evidence not extant, or from that favour he shewed the Conspirators in acting so strenuously against their Capital punishments. Shapeless and boundless are the intrigues of a Plot, which being always laid in the dark, becomes manageable, according to the various affections, interests, and designs of men: 'Twas necessary for *P. Autronius* by shams and subornations to overload Justice, that he might rescue himself and his fellow Conspirators from a due prosecution: 'Twas as necessary for *Cicero* by a prudential, rather than a severe management of it, to drive on the safety of the Common-wealth as it was able to go. *Crassus* may well be supposed for the corrupt Party, but not for sinking that state wherein he enjoyed the vastest Treasures: *Cæsar* had no doubt the most ambitious designs, but then they must be agreeable to himself, noble and glorious; he could not entertain thoughts of seeing his Countrey in Blood and Ashes, or of calling in barbarous Foreigners to destroy his fellow Citizens; his Empire afterwards was equally a demonstration of his Valour and Mercy.

C. Piso (though not *Q. Catulus*) might also have a turn to serve, and make use of publick Justice for a private revenge; might squeeze accusations into the shape he would have them, whilst Truth and safety groaning under the oppression; thus are men of

different concerns and sizes, nor will Interest ever suffer them all to take the same measures; the cruel and indigent draw the Arrow to the Head, the discontented half way, the generously ambitious only take aim and opportunity. But amidst all these, how great necessity is there that the God of Heaven should be ever superintending Empires, and Kingdoms, and Nations! The four fighting Elements may as well be left to themselves, as the interests and affections of men. Nothing in Nature wants a more particular regard of Heaven then the Intrigues of State; none have more need to implore the Succours of the Almighty than those that bear his Authority, but want his infinite perfections; which humane nature being not capable of, lies under a necessity of having continual recourse to the one Omnipotent and Omniscient Power.

(t) The same Day that the Evidence of *Lucius Tarquinius* was voted false, *Titus Vulsurtius* and the *Allobrogian* Ambassadors (whose discovery, even those who were not for the Capital punishment of the Conspirators, acknowledged true) received the greatest rewards. Which being not particularly mentioned here may be supposed the greatest of those that had been before offered, (u) being above Fifteen hundred Pound a Man.

(w) It had been decreed by the Senate the Day be-

(t) *Cicer. Orat. in Cat. 4. Cap. 5.*

(u) *Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 30.*

(w) *Igitur, perlectis literis, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent Senatus decernit, ut, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus, itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus, P. Lentulo, Spintheri, qui tum Aedilis erat, Cethegus, Q. Cornificio, Stratilius, C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cæparius (nam is paulo ante fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio Senatori, traduntur. Ibid. Cap. 47.*

fore this, upon the reading the Letters, and producing the Seals which the Conspirators could not but acknowledge, that *Lentulus* (being deprived of his Magistracy) and the rest of them should be committed, not to the confinement of a Prison, but secured by some particular Magistrate or eminent Person. Accordingly, *Lentulus* was delivered to *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was then *Ædile*; *C. Cethegus*, to *Q. Cornificius*; *Statilius*, to *C. Caesar*; *Gabinus*, to *M. Crassus*; and *Ceparius* (having been taken a little while after he made his escape) to *Cn. Terentius* a Senator.

(x) And this Night many both of the Servants and Freemen, partly out of fear as to their own concerns, partly out of pity to *Lentulus* and the rest, got together with a design to rescue them, fearing the Sentence might at last prove Capital.

(y) *Cethegus* sent to all his Retainers, Gladiators and Gentlemen, and whosoever had any courage left, that they would make a Tumult and break in to him.

(z) *Cicero*, having intelligence of this, secures the Capitol and Forum that Night with a strong Guard,

(x) Παρεσκευαζόμενον ὃ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. τῶν μὲν, ὑπόδουλους, τῶν δὲ, καὶ οἰκίῳ τὰ τε Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι. Dio. Lib. 37. Pag. 51.

(y) *Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam, atque liberos suos, lectos, & exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, uti, grege facto, cum totis ad se irrumperent.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 52.

(z) Προπυθόμενον τῶν δὲ Κιχάρων, τὸ, τε Καπιτώλιων καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρὰ περιετέλει. Dio. Lib. 37. Pag. 51.

(a) and next Morning, Being the *Nones*, [our Fifth] of *December*, (b) calls together the Senate, and proposes to them what they would please to have done with those that were in custody.

(c) The first Person required according to custom to declare his Opinion was, *D. Junius Silanus* Consul Elect, for since the Execution of Decrees most nearly concerned those that were designed to the highest Authority, their resolves were supposed most advisable and beneficial. (d) His Sentence was that they should be clapt into Prison, and there suffer the utmost punishment: (e) This also he proposed for *L. Cassius*, *P. Furius*, *P. Umbrenus*, and *Q. Annius*, when they should be apprehended.

(a) *Nona in concione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt, decima in senatu nonis Decemb. Cicer. ad Attic. Lib. 2. Epist. 1.*

(b) *Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, uti res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 50.*

(c) *Σίλανος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος ἔλεγον, ὅς ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἤρπτο ὑπατεύειν; ὃ δὲ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλον ὑπατεύσειν, πρῶτος εἰσφέρει γνώμην ὡς αὐτὸς (οἶμαι) πολλὰ τῶν Κυριέων ἐρ-
χασόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπιβαλότερον τε καὶ ευχετέστερον εὐδο-
μησόμενος περὶ ἐλάσσειν. App. de Bell. Civ. Lib. 2.*

(d) *Ὁ πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς γνώμην Σιλανός, εἶπε, τὴν ἐχάτην δίκην δύναι προσηκείν, ἀχθέντας εἰς τὸ δισμωτή-
ειον. Plat. Cicer. Pa. 870.*

(e) *Et Præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. An-
nio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverant. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 51.*

(f) To

(f) To this many assented till it came to T. Ner^o, who judged that they should be kept in Custody till Catiline was overcome, and the Conspiracy more exactly discovered: This took but faintly till it came to (g) Cæsar, who being asked his Opinion by the Consul, made the following Speech.

* **I**T becomes, O Conscript Fathers, all Persons who consult in such difficult Affairs, to be very free both from hatred, and friendship, both from anger and pity: The Mind cannot judge impartially where these sway: nor can affection and publick good be easily gratified together. When you act according to the dictates of the understanding the effects thereof will be agreeable, if affection possesseth you, that tyrannizeth and the Mind becomes useless under the oppression. I could offer you, O Conscript Fathers, many presidents of Kingdoms and Nations which have been ruined by the results of Passion, but I had rather produce the examples of our Ancestors, who by decreeing what became themselves, more than what their Enemies deserved, reduced them in to a well composed and lasting Obedience; in that

(f) Ἀξιῶντι ὃ τῷ Σιλανῶ τὸς ἀνδρες ἐχάτη Κολάσει μέ-
πειναι; πολλοὶ συνεπίθεντο; ἕως ἐπὶ Νερῶνα τὸ γυνώμενος
περὶούσης, ὃ Νέρων ἐδιδραίου φυλάττειν αὐτὸς μέλει Καπιλί-
ναν ἐξέλαιος πολέμου, καὶ τὰ ἀκρεβέστατα μάθουσι. App. de Bell.
Civil. Lib. 2.

(g) Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a
Consule hujuscemodi verba locutus est. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 50,

* Omnis homines, P. C. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio
amicitia, ira, atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet, &c. Sall. Bell.
Cat. Cap. 51.

' *Macedonian* War which we waged with King *Perſes*,
 ' the great and rich City of *Rhodes*, (grown ſo by the
 ' favour of the *Roman* People) became perfidious and
 ' adverſe to our Interests; yet when the War was con-
 ' cluded and a Conſultation held what ſhould be done
 ' with thoſe *Rhodians*, our Anceſtors diſmiſſed them un-
 ' puniſhed, that none might afterwards ſay the War was
 ' begun rather to enrich our ſelves than to repel injuries.
 ' in all the *Punick* Wars, the *Cartaginians* would often
 ' in times of Truce and Ceſſation of Arms, practice
 ' the baſeſt Villanies againſt us, but we never took
 ' the opportunites of like requitals: We ever more
 ' tenderly regarded the demands of Honour than the
 ' exactions of Juſtice. This is that, O Conſcript Fathers,
 ' which I would have you conſult in the preſent Af-
 ' fair of *Lentulus* and the reſt, what will be moſt agree-
 ' able to your Reputation and Government rather
 ' then to your indignation. If indeed a puniſhment be
 ' requiſite which bears a juſt proportion to their Trea-
 ' ſon, we muſt find out ſome thing new, but if that
 ' exceeds all humane Invention, then let us be con-
 ' tented to follow the moſt uſual Methods of Law.

' Thoſe that ſpoke before me have excellently com-
 ' miſerated the Common-wealth, have conſidered the
 ' cruelty of War, have recounted the miſeries of the
 ' conquered: The raviſhing of Virgins, the haling
 ' Children from the Embraces of their Parents, the
 ' Matrons expoſed to the Victors fury; Temples, and
 ' Houſes demolithed; Fire and Sword raging; in a
 ' word, every place filled with Blood and Confuſion,
 ' with the heaps of the dead and the groans of the dying.

' But what I wonder can be the deſign of ſuch an
 ' Oration? Is it to make us more enraged at the Con-
 ' ſpiracy? This is needleſs, thoſe who have not been
 ' moved by the horrid Nature of it, will never be

' ſtirr'd

‘stirred up by an Oration. No, ’tis needless: We
‘want it not; no Mortal Men were ever apt to esteem
‘the injuries intended them too small, they have often
‘judged them greater than indeed they were.

‘Above all, O Conscript Fathers, we should be
‘afraid of an excess of Indignation; when those who
‘live obscurely, err in undue heats of Passion, but
‘few take notice of it, their Fortune and their Fame
‘are equals; but we who are raised to so great an Em-
‘pire, have all Mankind for the Censurers of our acti-
‘ons; so that the greatest power hath the least liberty
‘to transgress its just bounds: We cannot honourably
‘allow our selves to be partial to any, to hate any, no,
‘nor so much as to be angry with any. What in others is
‘only called Anger, in us will be Pride and Cruelty;
‘I do indeed believe, O Conscript Fathers, that no
‘torments are too great for their deserts; but People
‘are always inclined more to remember what was
‘last, and to consider the Cruelties of punishment
‘than the Merits of the Cause. I am certain what
‘the excellent *Silanus* spoke was from a sincere affe-
‘ction to the Common-wealth, that in so great an
‘Affair he would not interpose either private love or
‘hatred; I am well acquainted both with his worth
‘and modesty; but what should lead him to such an
‘Opinion? Cruel I can’t say (for what can be cruel
‘against such offenders?) But very different from
‘our Polity. ’Tis idle to suppose, fear should be
‘the cause of it, since by the diligence of the most
‘renowned Consul, we are abundantly secur’d from
‘dangers. As to the Nature of the punishment,
‘Death is not so much a torment it self as the end of
‘others; it dissolves all the Miseries of Mortality, and
‘beyond that is neither care nor joy. But why (let
‘Heaven judge) was it not proposed in the Senate

that they should be first beaten with Rods? Was it not because you know the *Porcian* Law forbids it? And other Laws command the Penalty of Banishment, not that of Death, for condemned Citizens. And now, is it more grievous to be Whipt than to be put to Death? If it be then, why is not that most heavy and severe punishment inflicted upon Persons guilty (as these are) of the highest Crimes? But if Whipping be the more gentle and moderate, how comes the Law to restrain you in that which is the less, if you are not to be restrained from that which is the utmost severity.

But you will say, who shall ever blame us for such a Decree against the manifest Traitors of the Commonwealth? Yes, time and chance brings all things about, and every Nation is subject to their Tyranny. These men will deserve what they have: But consider well, O Conscript Fathers what you do; the worst Presidents have good Originals; when the Government comes into the hands of ignorant or less good men, this new Example will be transferred from these who have deserved to die, to those who have not.

The *Lacedemonians*, upon the Conquest of *Athens*, appointed Thirty Persons to manage the Government; at first these began to put to Death without Trial every one that was notoriously mischievous and hated; the People rejoiced at this they said it was very well done; after a while, that the Tyranny was grown strong they were wont with the like Arbitrary Power to kill good and bad; that all might be kept in awe. Thus the City being slavishly oppressed suffered the severe rewards of its foolish joy.

In our Memory, when *Sylla* executed *Damasippus* and some other vile Persons, who did not rejoice and applaud

applaud it? Ill and Factious men who disturbed the Government deserv'd (as 'twas said) to be put to death; but that was only an entrance; afterwards whoever had an House or Farm, or any Goods and Chattels, which were worth coveting, was brought into the Number of the proscribed till those that rejoiced at the Death of *Damaspippus*, were forced to follow that fate which they so unwarily admired: Nor did *Sylla* ever leave cutting Throats, till his whole Party was well replenish'd with the spoil.

This I do not fear from *M. Tullius*, nor the present times; but in our great City we may expect variety of Successors, at another time, there may be another Consul with an Army at his command, who may think that true, which is indeed false: Now if he hath this example, and by Decree of the Senate the Sword be put into the Consuls hands; who shall put a stop to him or oblige him to moderation.

Our Ancestors, O Conscript Fathers, never wanted either Council or Courage; nor hath Pride hindered them from imitating the Customs of foreign Nations, when they were honourable and advantageous; their Arms and Military Exercises they learned of the *Samnites*; the Ensigns of Magistracy they took up from the *Hetrusci*; Lastly, whatsoever seemed well either among Allies or Enemies they practised with the greatest emulation at home: They were always for imitating rather than envying the good: Then also they followed the Customs of *Greece*, corrected their Citizens with Rods, punished the Condemn'd with Death; but afterwards, when the Common-wealth was come to its full growth, and by the Multitude of Citizens Factions began to reign, the Innocent to be circumvented and other such mischiefs

' mischiefs; then were the *Porcian* and other Laws
' enacted, whereby banishment was granted to the
' Condemned.

' This under favour, O Conscript Fathers, I look
' upon as great Reason why we should not aim at new
' Counsels; their Virtue and their Wisdom which
' raised so great an Empire out of such small begin-
' nings, are much more to be valued than ours who
' hardly keep what they left us.

' What do I desire then? That they should be dis-
' missed and augment the Forces of *Catiline*? No: I
' I would have all their Estates confiscated, I would
' have them kept Prisoners up and down in the
' strongest Free Towns of *Italy*; That hereafter no
' one intercede either to the Senate, or the People for
' them; whoever shall, let the Senate judg him an
' Enemy to the common safety.

(b) This Oration so much swayed the House which
was then in some dread of the People, that *Silanus*
did afterwards retract the Sentence he had proposed,
or at least to explain himself, that by the utmost Penalty
he did not intend Death but imprisonment, which
was the utmost a *Roman* might suffer,

(h) Οὐτω δ' τὰς γνώμας μετέστη τῆς βουλῆς, φοβηθε-
σης τὸ δῆμον, ὥστε καὶ Σιλανὸν ἔξαργον εἶναι λίσσιν, αἷς ἐδ'
αὐτὸς εἶποι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ ἐργυρόν; ἔφατον γὰρ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι
οὕτω χαλεπὸν ἀπάντων; γινόμενης δ' τοιαύτης τῆς τετραῖς, καὶ
ἀπάντων, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον βύεντων καὶ φιλανδραπέτερον ὁ
Κάτων περὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀναστὰς, εὐθὺς ἴστο τῷ λόγῳ μετ'
ἐργῆς καὶ παύσεσι. Plut. Cato. Min. pag. 770.

(i) But then *Marcus Cato* Head of the *Porcian* Family a Person who was the very likeness of Virtue, and had more of the Divine than the Humane Nature in him, who never did well that he might seem to do so, but because he could not do otherwise; to whom that always seemed most reasonable that was most just; who was free from Vice (and therefore had dominion over Fortune :) Being then Tribune Elect, though a very young Man, and his Opinion asked one of the last, spake with such force both of Wit, and reason, that he restored the wavering Senate by this following Oration.

* ‘ **W**hen I consider our Affairs and Dangers, O
‘ Conscript Fathers, and weigh with them
‘ those Sentences some have proposed, I must declare
‘ my self of a far different Opinion: They seem to
‘ have been debating the Punishment of those who
‘ have raised War against their Countrey, and their
‘ Parents, the Houses where they were Born, the
‘ Temples where (if they had any Religion) they

(i) *M. Cato, princeps familie Porcie, homo virtuti simillimus, & per omnia ingenio diis, quam hominibus, propior, qui nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat; cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet iustitiam; omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit: Hic, tribunus plebis designatus, adhuc admodum adolescens, cum alii suaderent, ut per municipia Lentulus, conjuratusque custodirentur, pene inter ultimas interrogatus sententiam, tanta vi animi atque ingenii invehitus est in conjurationem, ut universus senatus in ejus sententiam transiret. Vel. Pater. Lib. 2.*

* *Longe mihi alia mens est P. C. cum res atque pericula nostra considero; & cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipso reputo, &c. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 52.*

‘were wont to adore; but after what manner? Doth
‘not the thing it self require us to consult, how we
‘shall be most certainly delivered from these men,
‘rather then what gentle punishments we inflict upon
‘them?

‘You may punish other Crimes when they are
‘committed, this unless you take care to prevent, no
‘Tribunal can signifie any thing; the City once
‘taken, nothing is left to the Conquered.

‘Let me now (by the Immortal Gods) appeal,
‘not to the generous Lovers of their Countrey, but
‘even to those who love their Houses, Gardens, and
‘Pictures better the Common-wealth; if you desire
‘to enjoy these, and a serene course of Pleasure, rouse
‘up your selves and lay hold on the sinking Empire;
‘We are not now about Taxes and Alliances; Life
‘and Liberty lie at Stake.

‘I have very often, O Conscript Fathers, in this
‘place complained of the Luxury and Avarice of
‘of our Citizens, and I have many Enemies upon
‘that account; and if I would never for my own re-
‘pose, favour the Commission of a Crime, I will not
‘now pardon the Lusts of those who have almost per-
‘petrated our utter ruine. You took indeed but lit-
‘tle notice of my reprimands, and yet the Common-
‘wealth stood; the excellency of the establishment sup-
‘plied the wants of diligence and virtue: But now the
‘Question is not whether we will live vertuously, or vi-
‘tiously, not how great and magnificent the *Roman*
‘Empire shall be, but (whatever other thoughts you
‘may) now ’tis whether we and all ours shall not fall
‘into the power of the Enemy. Here shall any Man
‘call moderate proceedings gentleness, and pity?
‘We have long ago lost the right use of words; to
‘lavish other mens Goods is named Liberality; a front-
‘less

‘less impudence in Vice is assurance ; to this pass is
 ‘the Common-wealth come ! Well ; since ’tis so, let
 ‘men be esteemed liberal with borrowed Estates ; let
 ‘them be merciful to Thieves and Rogues ; but let
 ‘them not be profuse with our Blood, and whilst they
 ‘save a few Villains destroy every good Man in the
 ‘City.

‘C. *Cæsar* hath indeed spoken very accurately ;
 ‘something he said of Life and Death, (as much as
 ‘I can understand) supposing those things false,
 ‘which are related of the Infernal state ; that there is a
 ‘different Journey and different Habitation, that the
 ‘wicked are separated from the good , into dark
 ‘places full of disorder, nastiness, and horror. There-
 ‘fore he proposed for them only the miseries of Life,
 ‘to have their Estates confiscated, and their Bodies
 ‘kept in perpetual Imprisonment : Very well. But
 ‘he would not have them at *Rome*, lest the Multi-
 ‘tude should be hired to rescue them ; as if they
 ‘could be more safe in the Towns of *Italy*, where
 ‘there is less power to secure them. So that if he be
 ‘sensible of danger his Counsel is insufficient, if he
 ‘be not, there is the greater necessity that I should
 ‘fear both for my self and you.

‘Be assured that whatsoever measures you take con-
 ‘cerning *Lentulus* and the rest, they will have an in-
 ‘fluence upon *Catilines* Army and the whole Conspi-
 ‘racy ; if you be resolute here, their courage will
 ‘fail, if you flag they’ll grow bold.

‘Don’t think that our Ancestors did by Arms alone
 ‘raise this Common-wealth from so mean an Ori-
 ‘ginal to its present greatness : If that had been all,
 ‘surely we should now be much more flourishing than
 ‘ever they were ; we have more Allies and Citizens,
 ‘greater Forces both of Foot and Horse, than ever
 ‘they

they had : But other things made them great which
 are lost by us : Their government was supported by
 Industry at home, by Justice abroad ; their consul-
 tations were generous, free from the influence of
 Vice and all Affection to it ; Instead of which we
 have nothing but Luxury and Avarice ; the Publick
 is oppress'd with Debt ; private men enjoy the great-
 est abundance ; We admire Riches and follow Sloth ;
 there is now no distinction observ'd between the good
 and bad, but Ambition seizes upon all the rewards
 of Virtues ; nor can it be otherwise when every Man
 acts separately for his own Interest ; whilst you are
 domestick Slaves to your Pleasures, Riches, Rela-
 tions ; every attempt that is made will be ready to
 sink such an helpless Common-wealth ; but I pass by
 these things.

What are we now to do ? The greatest Citizens
 have conspired to ruine their Countrey ; they cal-
 led in the *Gallick* Nation, ever most fatal to the *Ro-*
man Name ; their General with his Army is just
 coming upon us. And now you are at a stand what
 to do with those of them whom you have apprehen-
 ded within the very Walls ! Now nothing but pity,
 compassion to some ambitious, rash young Gentle-
 men that have taken up Arms ! Yes, let them go,
 armed as they are ! What sloth and softness of mind
 is this ? Surely such Mercy it is as (if they be armed)
 must at length end in our misery : But 'tis acknow-
 ledged dangerous ; yet you will not fear it ! Nay,
 though you profess the greatest fears, yet with sloth
 & negligence you look upon one another, and expect
 the Divine assistance to preserve the Common-wealth
 (as it hath often done) in the most eminent dangers :
 But that assistance is not to be expected by faint Wishes
 and feminine Prayers ; success is always given to
 so

‘sober Councils, to vigilant and active endeavours.
 ‘If you give up your selves to security and negli-
 ‘gence, you do in vain implore the Powers of Hea-
 ‘ven; they are angry and averse to you.

‘To speak of our Ancestors; *A. Manlius Torquan-*
tus in the *Gallick* War, commanded his Son to be
 ‘killed because he fought the Enemy contrary to Or-
 ‘der; thus that Noble Gentleman had Death for a
 ‘reward of unseasonable, though Victorious Va-
 ‘lour. Yet we are in doubt what shall be done with
 ‘the most Bloody Traitors? The other circum-
 ‘stances of their lives (it seems) are more to be con-
 ‘sidered then their present Villany! Spare the Dignity
 ‘of *Lentulus*; yes, so we would, if *Lentulus* would
 ‘have spared himself, would have spared either God
 ‘or Man. Pity the Youth of *Cethegus*; Yes! that
 ‘he may inflame his Countrey in a new Rebellion.
 ‘Yes, and *Gabinus*, *Statilius*, *Ceparius*, who if they
 ‘ever had the least love for their Countrey, would
 ‘never have entred into those Consults.

‘And now I protest, O Conscript Fathers, if this
 ‘present Affair would admit of an Errour, that could
 ‘ever be retrieved, I would for once contentedly
 ‘suffer you that experience might convince you,
 ‘since no persuasions will prevail; but repentance
 ‘here will be too late, we are beset both within and
 ‘without: *Catiline* with his Army is ready to de-
 ‘vour us, these are within the Walls, Enemies in our
 ‘own Bosom; we cannot consult, we cannot prepare
 ‘but all is presently discovered; we must therefore
 ‘come to a resolution.

‘Wherefore ’tis my Opinion that since by the nesa-
 ‘rious designs of the most Villanous Citizens, the
 ‘Common-wealth is fall’n into the greatest dangers,
 ‘since by the discoveries of *Titus Vulturcius* and the
 Am-

‘ Ambassadors, as well as by their own confessions
 ‘ they are convicted, to have designed the most cruel
 ‘ murders and barbarous destruction both of their own
 ‘ fellow Citizens and their Countrey, let them suffer,
 ‘ (as in the time of our Ancestors) according to the
 ‘ manifest guilt of their Capital Crimes.

(k) This is said to be the only Oration of that brave *Cato* which was preserved and left extant to the World; and for it we are intirely obliged to the Consul *Cicero*, who having beforehand taught some of the best Scribes in *Rome*; certain marks containing in little short Characters, the power of many Letters, placed them for this purpose up and down the Senate House. Nor were there any Short-hand Writers among them before; the first Footsteps of that Art arising from the present occasion.

(k) Τῷ τῷ μόνον ὃν Κατῶν εἶπεν διασώζεσθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον, Κιχάρων Θ· τὰς πάτας, τὰς διαφέροντας, ὁξότητι τῇ γραφῇ, σημεῖα περιδιδάξαντες, ἐν μικροῖς καὶ βραχέσι τυποῖς, πολλῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντα δύναμιν, εἰτα ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε τὸ βελανθρεῖ σποράδην ἐμβαλόντες; ἔπειτα γὰρ ἤσκησεν οὐδ’ ἐκείνην τὴν τῶν καλεσμένων σημειογράφους, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἵχνος τὴν κατὰ σῆναι λέγουσιν. Plut. Cato Min. Pag. 770.

(l) There

(1) There happened also one little Intrigue amidst this grave Debate, which being between such eminent Persons, and containing something of Divertisement, may also be inserted here. Whilst *Cæsar* and *Cato* were in the heat of this Dispute, and the Senate very intent upon them, there was a small three corner'd Letter convey'd to *Cæsar* from without Doors; *Cato* raised a suspicion, and made a great stir about it, upon which some moved that it should be read; *Cæsar* standing not far from *Cato* deliver'd it into his Hands; he looking it over, and finding it only to be a Billet-deux from his own Sister *Servilia* (who had been formerly debauched by *Cæsar*, and continued her base Amours) threw it down at his Feet, saying only, Take it Drunkard, and so went on again with his Oration.

(1) Εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἡδῶν σημεῖα παραλί-
πειν, ὥσπερ εἰκόνα ψυχῆς ὑπογεγραμμένης, λέγεται, τότε
πλὴν ἀμύλλαν καὶ μάχην ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τῷ Καί-
σαρι ἔχοντι, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰς ἐκείνους ἀνηρημένης, δι-
πλείον πᾶ μικρὸν ἔξωθεν ἐσκομιδῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι; τῷ δὲ
Κάτωνι εἰς ὑπόψιν ἄγοντι τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ διαβάλ-
λοντι, εἰναί πῃ τούτους κινημένους, καὶ καλεῶντας ἀναγνώσ-
κων τὰ γεγραμμένα, καὶ Καίσαρα τῷ Κάτωνι προσδύειν τὸ
διπλείον ἐγγύς ἐσῶπ; τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα Σεργιλίαν καὶ
ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστολίας ἀκόλαστον, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα γεγραμμένης,
ἐρώσης καὶ διψιδαρμένης; ἐπ' αὐτῷ προσεῖπαι τι τῷ Καίσα-
ρι καὶ ἐπεῖν, Κραταί μύθου; καὶ πάλιν οὕτως ἐπὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀρ-
χῆς λόγον τεραπιδῶσι. Ibid.

(m) To conclude the Debate, the Consul *Cicero* stood up and discuss'd both the Sentences which had been propos'd: His Friends were of Opinion that it was very much the Interest of *Cicero* to comply with *Cæsar*, that he would undergo a great deal less envy if the Conspirators were not put to death: But that faithful Consul above all valuing the safety of the Commonwealth, without regard to himself propos'd his Sentiments in the following Oration.

(m). Ὁ Κικέρων-- ἀναστὰς ἐνεχείρισεν εἰς ἐκάτερον, τὰ μὲν τῇ περὶ τῆς γνῶμης Καίσαρος συνείπων; οἱ τε φίλοι πάντες, οἰόμενοι τῷ Κικέρωνι συμφέρον ἢ Καίσαρος γνῶμην (ἥτις γὰρ ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσται μὴ θανατώσασθαι τὸς ἀνδρας) ἤρουντο ἢ δευτέρῃ μάλλον γνῶμην. Plut. Cicero. Pag. 871.

Cicero's

Cicero's Fourth Oration against
Catiline.

I See, O Conscript Fathers, the Eyes and Expectations of all here fixed upon me; I see you concerned not only for your own and the dangers of the Common-wealth (if they are put by) but for mine also. Your affection to me is indeed delightful in my miseries, pleasant in my grief; but I beg of you, by the Immortal Gods, lay it aside; forget my safety, think of your own and your Childrens. If this place of the Consulship be given me, that I should undergo all trouble, sorrow, torment; I will bear them resolutely, I will endure them willingly, whilst by my Labours, Honour and Safety redound to you and the Roman People, I am that Consul, O Conscript Fathers, to whom neither the Forum, that place of Universal Justice, nor the Field designed for Consular Business: Nor the Senate House that Supreme refuge of all Nations: Nor my own House the place for ordinary retirement; nor my Bed was ever given for rest: No; neither was this Seat of Honour, this Ivory Chair ever empty of the most pernicious dangers and snares. Many things have I concealed, many have I born, many have I yielded: Many of your fears have I healed with my own pain. And now if the Immortal Gods have

(*) *Vide, P. C. in me omnium vestrum ora atq; Oculos esse conversos, &c.*

' thus designed my Consulship to expire, in the de-
 ' liverance of you, O Conscript Fathers, and the Ro-
 ' man Empire from a dismal Massacre, your Wives,
 ' your Children, and the Vestal Virgins from the most
 ' dreadful violence; the Temples, the Shrines, this
 ' our dearest Countrey from the consuming Flame;
 ' If I have now snatcht all *Italy* out of War, and
 ' ruine, whatever my Fate be, I joyfully embrace it.
 ' For if *P. Lentulus* could like his Name by the
 ' Fates declared destructive to the Common-wealth;
 ' why should not I amidst all, rejoice in my Consul-
 ' ship by the Fates plainly demonstrated Eminent in
 ' its preservation.

2. ' Wherefore, O Conscript Fathers, consult your
 ' own Interest, regard your Countrey, preserve your
 ' selves, your Wives, your Children, your Estates:
 ' Stand up for the Safety and Glory of the *Roman*
 ' People, let me alone, cease thinking of me; for I ought
 ' to believe that all the Gods who preside over this
 ' City, will reward me for what I have done: Or if
 ' it be their Pleasure, with a serene prepared mind I am
 ' ready to die. For Death cannot be dishonourable to
 ' the Virtuous, nor untimely to a Consul, nor misera-
 ' ble to a wise Man. Nor am I yet so stupid as not to be
 ' moved with the grief of my dearest and kindest Bro-
 ' ther here, with the Tears of all those you see sur-
 ' round me; nor can my Mind be so estranged from
 ' home as to forget my fainting Wife, my dejected
 ' Daughter, my little Son, whom the Common-wealth
 ' seems to embrace as the Pledge of my Consulship:
 ' Nor am I unconcern'd for my Son in Law, who stands
 ' there expecting the event of this Day. I am moved by
 ' all these, but so, that they may be all safe with you
 ' though I be destroyed, rather than that they and we
 ' both perish with the Common-wealth. Wherefore,
 ' O

' O Conscript Fathers, push on the safety of the Commonwealth, look about you upon those storms which unless you well provide against, are ready to discharge upon your Heads. 'Tis not *Ti. Gracchus* who wanted to be made a second time Tribune of the People, 'tis not *C. Gracchus* who endeavoured to stir up the Levellers, 'tis not *L. Saturninus* who slew *C. Memmius*, that is brought to Trial and to receive the Sentence of your Justice : But those are apprehended who staid behind at *Rome* to receive *Catiline*, to Burn the City, to Massacre you all. Their Letters, their Hands, their Seals, their own particular confessions are before us ; the *Allobrogians* were solicited, the Apprentices raised, *Catiline* call'd in ; 'Twas designed that in so general a destruction, none should be left to weep for the Name of this Common-wealth, or lament the fall of so great an Empire.

3. ' All this the discoverers have evidenced, the guilty confess, you your selves adjudged by several Sentences: First, That you returned me thanks in particular words, and voted that by my courage and diligence the Conspiracy of most pernicious Men was brought to light : Then, that you compelled *P. Lentulus* to renounce the Prætorship ; that you ordered him, and the rest of whom you passed judgment, to be taken into custody ; and chiefly that you Decreed a Thanksgiving in my Name, an Honour, that was never before conferred upon a Gown-man. Lastly, You did but Yesterday give most liberal Rewards to *Titus Vulturcius*, and the *Allobrogian* Embassadors ; all which demonstrates that the Persons who stand committed, are with full satisfaction condemned by you. But I am resolved, O Conscript Fathers, now to referr the whole to you, both what you will please to judge of the Crime, and what you will

determine as to the Punishment, I will only premise what is proper for the Consul; I have long ago observed a great rage fermenting in the Common-wealth; new mischiefs continually invented and attempted: But I never thought so execrable a Conspiracy could have been undertaken by Citizens. Now whatsoever it be, however your Passions and Opinions incline, you must come to a resolution before Night. How great a Treason hath been discovered you all know; if in this you think but a few concerned, you are greatly mistaken. The mischief is more widely spread than your apprehension of it can be: It hath not only overflowed *Italy*, but found a passage over the *Alps*, and so creeping on with, a silent stream is diffused through many of the Provinces. Nor can it possibly be suppressed by connivance or delay: Whatsoever be adjudged must be put into speedy execution.

4. I find two Sentences proposed, one by *D. Silvanus*, that the Plotters should be punished with Death; the other by *C. Caesar*, who (abating Death) offers all the severity of other punishments: Both of them, as the honour and greatness of the concern requires, have been managed with the highest exactness. One is of the Opinion that those who have endeavoured to deprive all us, and the whole *Roman* People of Life, to destroy the Empire, to blot out the very *Roman* Name, ought not to live and breathe one Moment longer: And the Records testify, that this sort of punishment hath often been inflicted upon pernicious Citizens. The other apprehends that Death was never designed by the Immortal Gods for a punishment; but either as the necessity of Nature, or the relief of Labours and miseries. And therefore wise men were never unwilling,

willing, the Valiant were always desirous of it. But
 there are Bonds in Death, and they sempiternal too,
 for the particu^{lar} punishment of every heinous
 Crime. He would have them secured up and down
 in the Free Towns; this seems unjust for you to
 command, and difficult to bring to pass if you do
 enact it. Yet if you please, let it be so decreed. I
 will under take it, and hope I shall prove the Man
 who will think it not agreeable to his Honour, to re-
 fuse any thing that hath been determined for the
 Publick safety. He annexeth a great Penalty upon
 the Townsmen if any one of them get away; he would
 confine them in dreadful Prisons fit for the wicked-
 ness of such pernicious men. He resolves that no
 one either by the Senate or People should endeavour
 to alleviate the punishment of those he condemns:
 And so deprives them of hope, which is alone able
 to comfort men in misery; he commands besides, that
 their goods should be confiscated; he leaves Life only
 to these wretched men; which if he had also deprived
 them of, he might (it seems) with one pain have
 extinguished those many miseries both of Body and
 Mind, he might have at once delivered them from
 all the punishments of wickedness! That therefore
 there might be some restraining Terrour upon wicked
 men in this life, it hath been long acknowledged
 that in the state of the Dead, there are punishments
 appointed for the Impious: For were there none such,
 it must be confessed, Death is not of it self terri-
 ble.

5. Now, O Conscript Fathers, I see what would
 be my Interest. If you pursue the Sentence of C. Cae-
 sar, who hath ever taken that course in the Com-
 mon-wealth which hath been most Popular, I may
 perhaps (he being the Author and Patron) less fear

the Popular rage. If the other, I know not what
 it may draw upon me. But let the advantage of the
 Common-wealth swallow up all the thoughts of my
 dangers: We have indeed from *C. Caesar* a Sentence
 very worthy of himself, and his Ancestors, such an one
 as may be a Pledge of his perpetual Affection to the
 Common-wealth. But 'tis easy to discern between the
 smoothness of an harangue, and an intention truly Po-
 pular, in reality consulting the Safety of the People.
 I see a considerable Person that affects to be account-
 ed an advocate for the Commons absent himself,
 that he may not Decree Capital punishments upon
Roman Citizens. The Day before Yesterday he
 would have them committed, he voted thanks to me,
 Yesterday he would have the Discoverers receive the
 greatest rewards: Now it cannot be doubted, but he
 that Decrees the guilty to Prison, the Prosecutor to
 be congratulated, the Discoverer to be rewarded, hath
 given judgment both as to the Fact and Crime.
 However *C. Caesar* considers the *Sempronian* Law
 was made for *Roman* Citizens: But how can he be
 esteemed a Citizen who is a Traytor to the Common-
 wealth? Lastly, The Author of the *Sempronian*
 Law, did by the Peoples appointment make satisfac-
 tion to the Common-wealth, by his own punish-
 ment. He is pleased to think *P. Lentulus* (guilty of
 such Bribery and profuseness, nay, of having so
 fiercely, so cruelly designed the ruine of the Common-
 wealth, the *Roman* People, and the destruction of
 this City,) not fit to be esteem'd a Friend to the
 People. He is certainly a most moderate and favou-
 rable Person! And yet he makes no difficulty to con-
 demn *P. Lentulus* to perpetual darkness and impri-
 sonment, he Decrees that hereafter no one should
 move for the easing of their punishment, that none
 might

' might affect to be popular by a mischief to the *Roman*
' People; he adds also the Sale of their Goods, that
' every torment both of Body and Mind, even want
' and beggery might ensue: Wherefore if you enact
' this, you give me an Author, an Assistant, dear, and ac-
' ceptable to the People: If you rather choose *Silanus's*
' Sentence you will easily defend me and your selves
' from the reproach of cruelty, I shall have it granted
' that this was by much the most favourable Sen-
' tence.

6. ' Although, O Conscript Fathers, what cruelty
' can there be in punishing such a barbarous Treason?
' I speak my own judgment: I would so enjoy with
' you the preserved Common-wealth, that I being
' thus earnest in this cause, am not moved by severi-
' ty of Mind, (for whose affections can be milder than
' mine?) but a certain proper Humanity and Mercy.
' For I seem to have before mine Eyes this City, this
' joy of the whole World, this support of all Nations
' perishing in one sudden conflagration: I have be-
' fore me deplorable unburied heaps of Citizens, in
' their buried Countrey: There I see the rage of
' *Cethegus* carousing in your Blood. When I propose
' to my self *Lentulus* tyrannizing, as he confesseth the
' Fates once put him in hopes, *Gabinus* in his Pur-
' ple Robes, and *Catiline* at the Head of his Army,
' then have I a dread upon me, to consider the mise-
' rable moans of Matrons, the amazement of Virgins,
' and Children, the distress of ravish'd Vestals: And
' because these seem so horrible, so dreadful, there-
' fore doth Mercy compel me to be Zealous, Huma-
' nity to be severe, against those that would perpe-
' trate these things. For I would ask of any one, if the
' Master of a Family should inflict the severest punish-
' ments upon a Servant that had killed his Children,
' mur-

murdered his Wife, burnt his House, would such
 an one seem cruel and inhumane, or fatherly and
 compassionate : To me he would seem barbarous and
 stupid if he did not endeavour to appease his own
 pain and torture by the pain and torture of the Assa-
 sine. Thus, if against these men who would have
 murder'd us, our Wives and Children, would have
 destroyed every one of our Houses, and this Man-
 sion-house of the Common-wealth, who had contriv'd to
 place the Nation of the *Allobroges* in the ruins of
 this City, in the Ashes of this consumed Empire, if
 against these men we be zealous we shall be account-
 ed merciful : But if towards these we will be remiss,
 the reproach of the highest cruelty in the destruction
 of our Countrey, and Citizens will be imputed to
 us. Unless *L. Cæsar*, that most valiant Man, that
 most faithful lover of the Common-wealth, should
 seem to any one more cruel, who but two Days ago,
 said that the Husband of his own Sister an excellent
 Woman, (when he was by and heard it) ought to
 be put to death : He said also that his Grandfather
 had been slain by command of the Consul, and his Son
 under Age who was but employed by him : Now what
 had these done ? Had they entered into any Conspi-
 racy of destroying the Common-wealth ? No, there
 was only some pensionarying in the Government, some
 contention of Parties. And at that time the Grandfa-
 ther of this *Lentulus* a Person of Eminent worth, arm'd
 himself, pursued *Gracchus*, and was glad to be loaden
 with Wounds that the Common-wealth might not
 lose any thing of its Grandeur. But this *Lentulus*
 hath called in the *Galli* to subvert the Foundations of
 the Common-wealth, raised the rebellious Multitude,
 sent for *Catiline*, given us to be assassinated by *Ce-
 rebegus*, the Citizens to be massacred by *Gabinus*, the
 City

'City to be burnt down by *Cassius*, all *Italy* to be
'ransack'd and destroy'd by *Catiline*. And now me-
'thinks you are afraid lest in such an horrid Villany,
'so matchless and unspeakable, you should seem to have
'determined any thing too severe: Whereas 'tis much
'more to be feared, that by the remisness of Punishment
'you should seem cruel to your Countrey, than, by the
'exactness of Justice too severe upon the worst Enemies.
'But those things which I hear, O Conscript Fathers, I
'cannot dissemble. There are words cast out by some,
'and they are come to my Ear as if they feared I had not
'Guards enough to execute what you this day Decree.

7. 'All things are provided for, ordered, settled, O
'Conscript Fathers; as well by my utmost care and di-
'ligence, as the great affection of the People of *Rome*
'to retain their Supream Empire, to preserve their lives
'and fortunes. Men of every quality, of every Age
'are flockt together, the *Forum's* full, all the Tem-
'ples, all the Avenues to this place are full. This is
'that only thing in which (since this City was built)
'all have agreed in one and the same sentiment, except
'those who knowing they must perish, had rather pe-
'rish with a Multitude than by themselves alone. These
'men indeed I do willingly except and separate from
'the rest: For I do not look upon them in the Num-
'ber of bad Citizens but of the most implacable
'Enemies. O Immortal Gods! with what Numbers,
'with what Affection, with what Valour, do all
'the rest conspire to maintain the publick Honour
'and Safety! Why should I particularly mention the
'*Roman* Knights? These do ever so submit to the Su-
'premacie of your Order and Counsel, that they may
'still vye with you in love to the Common-wealth:
'Whom after many Years dispute this Day, this Cause,
'joins to you in perfect Friendship and Concord: Which
'Union

' Union if fixed in my Consulship and perpetuated in
 ' the Common-wealth, I assure you no domestick mis-
 ' chief will ever assault any part of it. With the same
 ' affection of defending the Common-wealth are all the
 ' Officers of the Treasury, stout men got together,
 ' all the Clerks who being upon business brought to
 ' the Office, leave their assignments to attend upon
 ' the publick Safety. The whole Multitude of the
 ' Free-born are here, even the meanest. For who is
 ' there to whom these Temples, the Aspect of this City,
 ' the enjoyment of Liberty, the Light they see, and
 ' the Air they have ever breathed in, are not dear,
 ' sweet, pleasant ?

8. 'Tis worth the while, O Conscript Fathers, to
 ' consider the affections of our Free-men, who have
 ' obtained the Rights of this City, and truly esteem
 ' it their own Countrey : Which those who were Born
 ' here, and of the highest Quality have not consider'd
 ' as their Countrey, but as a City of mortal Enemies.
 ' But why do I insist upon this Order of Men, whom
 ' Estates, Priviledges, and above all, Liberty, have
 ' stirred up to defend the Safety of their Countrey ?
 ' There is no Servant who lives in any tolerable condi-
 ' tion of Servitude, that doth not tremble at the Villany
 ' of these Citizens: That doth not only desire to maintain
 ' the present State of Government, but as far as he dares,
 ' and is able, sets his Shoulders to the common Safety.
 ' And therefore if any be concerned that 'tis reported
 ' *Lentulus* hath his Pander to run from one Tavern to
 ' another, hoping to hire som indigent, rascally Fel-
 ' lows : 'Tis true, that hath been tried and attempted ;
 ' but there are none found so miserable in their condi-
 ' tion, so pernicious in their desires, who had not ra-
 ' ther heave the Sedan, carry their Packs, ply their
 ' Fare, and have their quiet course of life preserved to
 ' them.

'them. By much the greatest part of those who attend
'upon Shops and Inns (I may say all of them) do above
'any thing desire Peace. All their attendance, their work,
'their hire, depends upon the Trade and quiet of the
'Citizens: Whose gain, if the Shops be shut, is gone;
'and where is it, if they be burnt? Since things are
'thus, O Conscript Fathers, the assistance of the *Roman*
'*man* People is not wanting, now see that you be not
'wanting to them.

9. 'You have a Consul preserved from the greatest
'Dangers, Treacheries, the very point of Death, not
'so much for his own Life as for your Safety: All de-
'grees and ranks of Men conspire to defend the Com-
'monwealth with their Judgments, Affections, Desires,
'Valour, and Votes: Our Countrey surrounded with
'the Firebrands and Darts of this impious Conspiracy,
'stretcheth forth her supplicating hands to you; to you
'she commits her self; to you the lives of all her Ci-
'tizens, the Tower and the Capitol; to you the Al-
'tars of our tutelary Angels, the perpetual and sem-
'piternal Fire of Vesta; to you all the Temples of the
'Gods, the Shrines, the Walls, and Houses of the Ci-
'ty are recommended. Besides, this Day are you to
'decide the case for your own lives, the lives of your
'Wives and Children, your Goods, your Estates, your
'dwellings. You have a Leader mindful of you, for-
'getful of himself (which doth not always happen,)
'you have all Men the whole *Roman* People (which
'never before was seen in a domestick cause) agreeing
'in one and the same resolution. Think with your selves
'by how great labours this Empire was founded, with
'what Valour our Liberty was obtained, with how great
'bounty of the Gods these have been encreased, our
'Estates heaped; all these, one Night had very nigh ut-
'terly ruined. That this may never be done, no nor
'thought

thought of again by Citizens, you are this Day to take care. And this I do not speak so much to stir up those who are ready to run before me, as that my Voice which ought to be principal in the Commonwealth, may be heard to have performed the Consular Office.

10. But before I return to the Sentence, I must add a little as to my self. By how great the Band of Conspirators is, which you know to be considerable, such a multitude of Enemies have I undertaken: Yet I cannot but think them base weak, low, contemptible. But if ever any Power raised up by their rage and wickedness should prevail over you and the Commonwealth's Dignity, I shall never repent, O Conscript Fathers, of my Actions and Counsels. For Death, which they perhaps threaten me with, is before us all, but to that Glory of Life which you by your Decrees have honoured me with, none else hath attained. You have given to others the congratulation of well managing, to me only of preserving the Commonwealth. Let *Scipio* be renowned by whose Counsel and Valour, *Hannibal* was driven out of *Italy*, glad to return again into his own *Africa*: Or let that other *Africanus* who subverted *Carthage*, and *Numantia*, two Cities most mischievous to this Empire be advanced with eminent Praise. Let that *L. Paulus*, whose Triumphant Chariot the most noble and potent King *Perses* adorned, be esteemed Honourable: Let *Marius* be in Eternal Glory who twice delivered *Italy* from being invironed with Enemies and from the danger of servitude: Before them all place *Pompey*, whose Valour and Success have run through so many Countries and Regions, that they are Parallel with the Travels of the Sun. Yet among the Praises of all these, shall place be found

found for our Glory; unless perhaps it be judged
 greater to open a way for entering into Provinces,
 then 'tis to preserve that place into which the Con-
 querors are to return Triumphant. Though in one
 respect forreign Victory is much more desirible than
 domestick: When Enemies abroad are subdued they
 either serve us, or being received into Friendship
 acknowledge themselves oblig'd: But when once
 those, who being in the Number of Citizens are pos-
 sessed with a Rebellious Phrensie, commence En-
 mies to their Countrey, they, if you go to drive
 them from the destruction of the Common-wealth,
 will neither be restrain'd by force, nor appeas'd by
 kindness. Wherefore I see my self ingaged in an
 eternal War with mischievous Citizens; which I as-
 sure my self by the assistance of you, and all good
 men, by the Memory of so great dangers, (which
 shall have a being, not only among the People pre-
 served, but in the Hearts and Tongues of all Nati-
 ons) will be easily diverted from me and mine.
 Nor can there any force be found so great as may
 either subvert or shake the union of you and the Ro-
 man Knights, or the unanimity of all good men.

II. Wherefore, O Conscript Fathers, instead of that
 command, that Army, that Province, which I have
 quitted; instead of that Triumph, those Ensigns of
 Glory which have been cast aside by me that I might
 effect yours, and the Cities safety; for those Retinues
 and provincial Guests, whom I do at no less charge
 maintain, then I did at first procure; for all these
 things, and my most eminent affections towards
 you; for this my utmost diligence in preserving the
 Common-wealth (the Fruits of which you all now be-
 hold) I ask nothing else of you, but the Memory of
 this time, and of my whole Consulship, which be-
 ing

'ing imprinted upon your minds, I esteem my ir-
 'fragable defence. But if the violence of Villains
 'shall deceive and baffle my hopes, I recommend to
 'you my little Son whose Safety and Honour shall be
 'sufficiently guarded if you will but remember, he is
 'the Son of him, who preserved all by his own dan-
 'gers. Wherefore, O Conscript Fathers, for the
 'Supream safety of your selves, and the Roman Peo-
 'ple, for the sake of your Wives and Children, for
 'your Houses and Altars, your Images and Temples
 'for this City, this Empire for the liberty and security
 'of *Italy*, for the whole Common-wealth, determine,
 'as you began, with care, and valour. You
 'have a Consul, that is most ready to obey your De-
 'crees, and whatsoever you resolve, will, whilst he lives,
 'maintain to the utmost of his Power.

(n) After all, *Cato's* Judgment was applauded to
 the Skies; his eminent Virtue, then supported the
 Common-wealth, as the extraordinary merit of
 some Ancestors had raised it: for by them it was
 that the Poverty of *Rome* conquer'd the Riches of her
 Neighbours, her handfuls overcame their Multitudes:
 Indeed for some Years before this Conspiracy, the
 City had been corrupted with Sloth and Luxury, the
 Empire supported the Magistrates, not the Magistrates

(n) *Postquam Cato assedit consulares omnes, itémque Senátus magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant: Cato clarus atque magnus habetur: Senati decretum fit sicut ille censuerat: Mihi, multa agítanti, constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atq; desidia civitas corrupta est; rursus resp. magnitudine sua imperatorum, atque Magistratum vitia sustentabat. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 53.*

the

the Empire; but *Cato* was now valued as the reviving Power both of Virtue and Wisdom, so that all who were of Consular Dignity, and much the greater part of the Senate approved his Sentence, many of them reproaching one another as basely timorous: (o) So a Decree passed that the Conspirators should suffer death *Cæsar* then stood up and opposed the confiscation of their goods intreating that if the milder part of his Sentence was rejected, the rest of it, which was more severe, might not be taken. But many insisting upon it, he called in the Tribunes of the People: They not interceding as was expected *Cicero* himself undertook so much in their Favour, that the loss of Goods and Chattels was remitted.

(p) The Consul Thought it best by a speedy execution to prevent the Night; least any disturbance should happen, and therefore commanded the *Trium-*

(o) Ἐἵτα δὲ ξάμεν Ὁ Κατων--- ἐνέπλησεν θυμοῦ καὶ φρο-
νήματι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι τῶν
ἀνδρῶν περὶ δὲ δημόσιως χρημάτων ἐνίστατο Καῖσαρ, οὐκ
ἀξίων τὰ φιλανθρωπία τῇ ἑαυτῷ γνώμῃ ἐμβαλόντας, ἐνὶ
χρησάσαι τῷ σκυθρωποτάτῳ; ἐιαζομένων διπολλῶν, ἐπικα-
λεῖτο πρὸς δημόρχους; οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων
αὐτὸς ἐνδὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν περὶ δημόσιως γνώμην. *Plut. Cicet.*
Pag. 871.

(p) Consul optimum, factu ratus noctem que instabat, ante ca-
pere, nequid eo spatio novaretur, triumphuiros, que supplicium
postulabat, parare jubet. *Sall. Bell. Cat. 55.*

viri (q) who were in the Nature of Sheriffs to oversee the punishments of Malefactors) that they should get all ready: He himself went out, attended with great part of the Senate, and had the Conspirators delivered up to him, and first he received *Lentulus*, brought forth out of the Palace whom he lead through the *Via Sacra*, and middle of the great *Forum* to the publick Prison, (s) which was placed at the head of it as being the very center of the City, and a more Eminent restraint of audacious Vice. (t) In it there was a Dungeon called *Tullianum*, near Twelve Foot deep, wall'd about and covered with a Stone Arch, but dimly dark, and stinking: Into this place was *Lentu-*

(q) *Triumviros, scilicet capitales: Qui postquam Curius Dentatus de Samnitibus triumphavit, tunc primum Romæ creati sunt, qui de criminibus pariter cognoscerent; & in facinorosos, si quid scelere ac perfidia deliquissent animadverterent.* Zan. in loc.

(r) Ἐχρεὶ δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὸς ἀνδράς; καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παρελαβὼν τὸν λέντλον, ἦγε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, ᾧ μὲν ἡ γαιονικοτάτων ἀνδρῶν αὐχλὰς περὶ ἐς περικραμένων καὶ ὁδοῦ φορέντων. Plut. Cic. Pag. 87.

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(u) Ὅρῳ ἢ πολλὰς ἐπὶ τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας ἀδελφούς, αἱ δὲ μετρεῖσιν ἀγνοῦντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα περσμένοντας, ὡς ἐπὶ ξύντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπάδηναι, φ' ὅτι ξάμεν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἔξισαν, εἶπεν ; ὅπως Ῥωμαίων οἰδυσσόμεν μὴ βυλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν ; ἢ δὴ δὴν ἐσπερα, καὶ δὴ ἀγροῦς ἀνέβαιναν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην σωπῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔδε ταξὶ περπεμποντων αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ φμεναὶ καὶ κρότοις ἢ χομένων καθ' οὓς γένοιτο, σωπῆσαι καὶ κήπων ἀνακαλέντων τῆς πατρειδος ; τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ χατέλαμπε τοὺς συνωπύς, λαμπαδία καὶ δάδας ἐσώντων ἐπιταῖς θυραῖς ; καὶ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν προύφανον ἐπὶ πηλὴ καὶ δεσφ, τὸ ἀνδρῶν, ὑπὸ πομπῇ τῶν αἰείων μάλα σμυνῶς ἀνιόντων ; ὧν οἱ πλείστοι πολέμους τε χατηρηγμένοι μεγάλας, καὶ διὰ θειάμβων ἐισεληλακότες, καὶ περκακτιμέναι γῆν καὶ θάλαππαν οὐκ ἐλιγνῃ, ὀβριδίῳ ἀνομολογούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πολλοὶς μὲν τῶν τοτιήγμωνων καὶ στρατηγῶν πλῆτες καὶ λαφύρων καὶ δυνάμειος χάειν ὀφείλιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῖμον, ἀσφαλείας ἢ καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν μόνῳ Κικέρωνι, ταλικοῦτον ἀφελόντι καὶ τοσῶτον αὐτῷ κίνδυνον ; οὐ γὰρ τὸ κωλύσαι ταπεινὰ καὶ καλᾶσαι τοὺς περπῶντας, εἰδὼς θαυμάσιον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πῶποτε νεωτερισμῶν ἔστω ἐλαχίστοις χακοῖ ἀνευστάτως καὶ ταρῆς χατεβέσθαι Plut. Cic. Pag. 871, & 872.

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got to his House, to which he was accompanied, not with a silent orderly Pomp, but with Crouds and Shouts of all the honest Citizens, calling him Saviour and Father of his Country,

An artificial Day, then enlightned *Rome*, for Celebrating the Glory of her ever renowned Consul; The lesser Streets shone with Lights hung out at the Door of every House, in the greater the Balconies blazed with Torches, and were fill'd with Ladies admiring and honouring their blest Preserver. But the unparallel'd Glory of all proceeded from those that followed him: They were the greatest Persons of the *Roman* Common-wealth who had been Victorious in their Wars, renown'd by their Triumphs, eminent for preserving the Empire both by Sea and Land: These went along confessing to one another, that the *Roman* People owed the acknowledgment of Power, Riches, Spoils, to many Generals and Commanders, but their Safety and Preservation to *Cicero* alone; who had defeated the greatest danger, and that with the most extraordinary felicity; not as if it were so much to punish the Villains and suppress their attempts, but that so deep and inveterate a Conspiracy, should be extinguished with so little Tumult and Mischief.

(w) But three particular Encomiums ought not to be omitted; for since the value of a

(w) Κατων Θ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ πατέρα προσπαρεῖσθαι ἐπέβησεν ὁ δῆμος; καὶ δεκάτην ἡδὲ ἡευφημία ἀπὸ Κιχίων Θ' ἀρξάμεν πειλιδίνες τῶν νῦν Ανακράδων τὸς φαινόμενος ἀξίως; ὅς δ' αὖτε, καὶ περ ἐσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐδὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀμὰ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ἀλλὰ σὺν χρεῖω μόλις ἢ ὅς ἐστις ἐπὶ πρίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία ἡρεῖται. App. Alex. de Bell. civil. Lib. 2.

Testimony

Testimony hath its Price from the worth of the Persons that give it, these may be esteemed of the first Rate; I begin with *M. Porcius. Cato* who followed and saluted him with that glorious Title of Father of his Countrey, ecchoed back again by the Acclamations of the People: An appellation that thence had its Original, and was afterwards conferr'd upon Emperors of the highest Merits: An appellation that was not Hereditary as other Titles of Honour, but then particularly decreed when a Testimony of the most consummated Virtue made it due.

(x) Then the renowned *Cn. Pompeius*, at his return from *Syria*, did in a publick audience make this acknowledgment to him, 'That he should in vain have fought the Honour of a Third Triumph; if *Cicero* had not preserved that Common-wealth in which he was to Triumph.

At last we have this Reputation Immortalized by these following Verses of *Juvenal*:

*Quis, Catilina, tuis natalibus, atq; Cethegi.
Inveniet quicquam sublimius? arma tamen vos.
Nocturna, & flammæ domibus templisq; parastis:
Ut Brachatorum, pueri, Senonumq; Minores,
Ausi, quod Liceat tunicâ punire molestâ.
Sed vigilât Consul, vexillaq; vestra, coercet,
Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis, & modo Romæ
Municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubiq;
Præsidium attonitis, & in omni gente laborat:
Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi.*

(x) *Mihi quidem arte vir abundans bellicis laudibus Cn. Pompeius multis audientibus hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in reip. beneficio, ubi triumpharet esset habiturus. Cicero. de Off. Lib. 1 Cap. 22.*

*Nominis & tituli quantum non Leucade, quantum
Theſſaliæ campis Octavius abſtulit udo
Cædibus aſſiduus gladio : Sed Roma parentem.
Roma Patrem Patriæ, Ciceronem Libera dixit.*

Juvenal. Satyr. 8.

*Who any thing finds higher than thy Line
Cethegus reaches, Cataline or thine ;
Yet you took Arms, and did by Might conſpire
To ſet our Houſes, and our gods on Fire :
Like Sons of Gauls or Rogues at Lions Born,
For which you ought pitch't Doublets to have worn:
But on your Motion did the Conſult wait :
This New Man Tully, this poor Arpinate,
Late made at Rome a Countrey Gentleman
Set Guards where'er the line of danger ran
Unmaz'd us and took Pains for all the Town ;
And therefore ev'n within the Walls the Gown,
A greater Title upon him beſtow'd
Than any Name Cæſar to Actium ow'd
To Theſſaly, or to thoſe weapons kept
Moſt with the Blood which they ſo often wept
For Rome, freed Rome did call her Self his Child,
And Cicero his Countrey's Father ſtil'd.*

But how vain is the Glory of his Life; how vain
are even the Merits that procure it : The foregoing
Solemnity was but upon the Nones, that is our Fifth of
December, yet the Year could not expire before the
Conſular Power ſtagger'd, and its brightness was
darkened in the very laſt ſeaſon.

(y) For

(y) For such was the turbulence and interest of the New Tribunes in favour of the opposite Party, not only perplexing Cicero's affairs, but retarding even the suppression of Catiline, (who was then in Arms) that he was necessitated to send for P. Sextus, with his forces from Capua; to protect the City, and support him in the remaining Days of his Consulship.

But it happened well for the Common-wealth, that the most Vertuous and Valiant Cato was one of those who at that time entred upon the Office of Tribune; who needed not a Guard of Souldiers to defend the Majesty and Honour of the Roman People, he was ready and able to support the publick Affairs by his personal Interest, and therefore Sextus was sent away with the Consul Antonius, who was then marching to join against Catiline.

(z) And this was the time that Cato thought fit to accept of the Tribuneship : He had been formerly solicited to it, but would not take upon him such eminent Power and Authority, without a greater exi-

(y) *Atque illis temporibus iisdem, cum jam Capuam metu Sextius liberasset, ego literis cum Capua accersivi cum illo exercitu quem tum secum habebat. Hoc adventu P. Sextii, tribunorum pleb. novorum quitum extremis rebus. Consulatus mei, res eas, quas gesseram vixare cupiebant, reliquique conjurationis impetus, & conatus, sunt retardati. At, postea quam est intellectum, Catone tribuno pleb. fortissimo, atque optimo civis, repub. defendente, per seipsius S. P. Q. R. sine militum praesidio tuari facile majestatem suam, Sextius cum illo suo exercitu summa celeritate est Antonium consecutus. Ciccr. pro. P. Sextio. Cap. 5.*

(z) *Πολλῶν ὃ αὐτὸν ὀτὶ δημαρχίαν χαλόντων ἐκ δέτε χαλῶς ἔχεν, μεγάλης ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ὥς περ ἰχυρὸν φαρμάκον, δύναμιν ἐν πράγμασιν ἐκ ἀγαγχαίοις ἐξαγαλῶσαι, Plut. Cat. min. Pag. 763.*

gence: A strong Medicine is not requisite till the Disease be so: A great Command he then thought most desirable, when the posture of publick Affairs was most in want of it.

(a) This Year therefore his Friends came and importun'd him that he would accept of it, not as a kindness to himself, but to his Countrey, and all the most moderate Citizens entreated him that now (though he was formerly pleas'd to refuse) he would seek it, to preserve, the publick Liberty and Safety by the hazard of his own.

(b) Thus was he persuaded to canvass for the Office, and particularly as Antagonist to *Metellus Nepos*, whose Factious attempts he very well understood, and knew that (though they were both chosen) he should be able to clog and defeat them: For the Tribunitian Power consisted more in Intercession than in Action, nor could all of the Tribunes Decree any thing if any one of their Collegues were averse, and opposite.

(a) Πάντες οἱ χρήσοι καὶ γνώεμοι σινετρέχον, καὶ παραχά-
λιν καὶ περιδάρρονον αὐτὸν, ὥς ὑλαμβάνοντα χάειν, ἀλλὰ
τὴν μερίσιν δίδοντα τῇ παλείῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικηκιστοῖς τῶν πο-
λιτῶν, ὅτι πλλάκις ἀπεργαζόμενος ἀρξαι παρδν, οὐ θελήσας
νῦν ὑπὲρ τῆ ἐμευθερίας καὶ πολιτείας ἀγωνιόμενον οὐκ ἀκιν-
δύνως κατεῖσι. Ibid. Pag. 769.

(b) Ἐσπίρας δ' ἔλθων, εὐδὺς εἶδεν ὡς ἀγορὴν κατέβαινε,
δημαρχίαν μηπῶν ὡς ἀπὸ ταξόμενον πρὸς τὸ Μέτελλον;
τὸ γὰρ ἰχυρὸν ἢ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἔχει μάλλον ἢ πρὸς
τὸ περᾶν; καὶ πάντες σλοπῆι παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑψίσωνται, τὸ
μὴ θελόντες μηδὲ εἰς τὸ κράτος εἶναι. Plut. Cat. Min.
Pag. 768.

(c) Notwithstanding

(e) Notwithstanding *Cato* observed and prevented the more considerable mischiefs, yet some of the People got *Metellus Nepos*, upon the Day that *Cicero* was to lay down his Office, and intended an Oration relating all the Affairs of his Consulship, to impose silence upon him, only suffering him to take his Oath of a Faithful discharge (as the custom was) and so march off. However the Consul would add one Clause to his Oath, swearing that the City had been preserved by him.

(d) Of this he complain'd to his Friend *Metellus Celer*, the Tribunes Brother who was Pro-Consul of *Gallia*, telling him he could not but hear what disgrace had been cast upon him at the laying down of his Magistracy, such as the most villanous Citizens never met with; that when he had been Consul and sav'd the Common-wealth, the Liberty of a parting Oration was denied him.

And is it thus? Then, what Principles must generous Spirits move by? Surely not by a meer thirst of Glory? (which seems to have had the highest ascen-

(c) Τὸν δὲ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὁρῇ ἢ ὅπῃ τῷ τῇ πολιτῶν θανάτῳ πεισμένοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἤχθαλλον, καὶ τέλος ἀτολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ χατολίσθαι παθόντων ἐν τῇ ὑπαιτείᾳ ἐμποιοῖκε τὰ τελευταία. τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ μέγα ἐδηλώσαντα εἰσίστασαν, ἢ δὲ ἐοπίστρεψαν αὐτῷ ἕξω πρὸς τὸ ὄρεα φεύγειν; συναγωνιστὴν Μετέλλῳ Νέπῳτι διμαρχῶντι χρησάμενοι; πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀντιφρονετικῆς περὶ πώμοσιν ὅτι σωκῶς τὴν πόλιν ἔην. Dio. Cass. Lib. 37. Pa. 52. & 53.

(d) Quod te audisse credo, pridie Kal. Januar. qua injuria nemo unquam in aliquo magistratu improbiſſimus civis affectus est, ea me consulem affecti: cum temp. conservassem: atque abeuntem magistratu concionis habenda potestate privavit. Cicero. Epist. ad Metell. 2.

dant over Cicero's actions, since he so eagerly received not only such as was given to him by others, but was so sordidly lavish in his own expressions. For how soon is that glaring Meteor darkned? We must look higher and pursue the more Divine Notions both of *him and *Cato, who affirmed that there was an Eternal Life, distinct Habitations for the Virtuous and Vicious, that there shall be Torments enough to punish the one and Happiness sufficient to reward the others.

(b) Πάνυ γδ πε ηδέως εχ, όπως υφ' ετέρων επινείτο, αλλά κ' αυτος εαυτον ενέκωμάζειν. Dio. Cass. Lib. 37. Pag. 52.

* Cicer. in Cat. 4.

* Cato in Cæsar. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 52.

The

*The Year from the Building of Rome
691.*

Before the Birth of Christ. 60.

*Didius Junius Silanus, and L. Lici-
nius Muræna, Consuls.*

(f) **A**T the very beginning of this Year *Catiline* him-
himself perish'd, (though *Cassiodore*, strangely
different from other Authors, and the current of Hi-
story it self places it a Twelve-Month farther under the
Consulship of (g) *Pupius* and *Valerius*.) He had very

(f) Καπλίνας ὃ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτος τὸ ἔτος εἰς Ἰούλιον τε
Σιλανὸς καὶ Λικίνιον ἡξεν ἀποφάσσει; τίως μὲν γὰρ
καίπερ δύναμιν ἔκ ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐκείνου τοῦ κατὰ
καὶ; καὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐλπίσιν, ἃν φάσασιν ὅ, τε Κικέρων καὶ ἂν
συνεὺ τῷ σφαγῶντες; ῥαδίως τὰ λοιπὰ περὶ κατασκευάσαι; ἐπεὶ
ὃ ἐκείνον τε ἀπολωλὸς ἐπύθετο, καὶ τὴν συνάντησιν οἰσυχνοῦς μετ-
σαμένους; διὰ τούτ' ἦδετο, ὅ τε Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ Μάτελλον ὁ κα-
λερὸς πρὸς ταῖς Ραισεύαις πρὸς δρῶντας. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐλ-
δὴν αὐτῷ ἐπίτρεπον. Dio Cass. Lib. 37. Pag. 53.

(g) M. Pupio & M. Valerio Cass. Catilina in agro Pistoriensi &
C. Antonio bello peremptus est Cassiodor: in chronico.

considerable

considerable Forces with him, but lay all this while in expectation of what *Lentulus* should accomplish in the City: Still hoping that *Cicero* and his Friends might be assassinated; and then he did not doubt but his success would be easie. Instead of which, at length the News of their discovery and punishment, the revolt of many, who had took their part, arrives: So that now *C. Antonius* marching towards him from *Rome*, and *Metellus Celer* watching his Motions about *Fæfule*, that he could not tell which way to stir, he had no hopes left but in the Forces with him, (b) which were Two Legions, being (i) (according to the most common account) Twelve thousand, or as (k) *Appian* saith Twenty thousand men, but not above a quarter of them well armed, the rest only had such Weapons as they accidentally laid Hands on.

At first he lead his Army up and down the Mountainous passages, sometimes towards the City, sometimes towards *Gallia*, avoiding all the opportunities

(h) *Duas legiones instituit, — Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa, ceteri uti quemque casus a maverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præcutas sudas portabunt. — Catilina permittens iter facere; modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Pag. 56.

(i) *Vid. Sigonium & Vegetium.*

(k) *Vid. Appian. Lib. 2. de bell. Civil.*

of an engagement, (l) but finding that many who followed him only in hopes of Plunder, and for the love of innovations, began continually to forsake him, he lead them into the *Pistorian* Countrey (which *Antonine* calls *ad Piftores*, whose City was placed at the root of the *Appennine* between *Florence* and *Luca*, still known by the Name of *Pistoia*) intending to steal away into *Gaule*.

But *Q. Metellus Celer*, presiding with three Legions over the *Picene* Countrey, and supposing by *Catilines* difficulties, what his attempts would be, marches thither first; and being well informed by Scouts, of the Enemies motion, posts himself under those very Mountains by which they were to pass: Nor was *Antonius* with his Army far off, following them by the more even and open ways.

(m) *Catiline* was now forced to venture all upon a Battle, and having his choice of two Enemies, turns

(l) *Sed postquam*——*plerique quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina, per montes asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti pertramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam.* Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 57.

At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existimans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ut iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, quae illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius longe aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu locis equioribus expedito; in fugam sequeretur. Ibid.

(m) Ἀποκινδυνεύουσι ἡναγχάδῃ, καὶ (ἡσαν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐξοπλισμένους) πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνιον ἐτραπέτο, καίπε τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τῷ Μετῆλλῳ, καὶ δυνάμιν πλῶν πειβεβλημένον; αἰτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτὴ κατὰ τὸ συνωμοτὸν ἔδειλε. Dio Cass. Lib. 37. Pag. 53.

towards

towards *Antonius*. For though the Forces which *Metellus* had with him were much the interior, and so might have best been ventured upon; yet *Catiline* considering that *Antonius* was once a well willer to, and promoter of the Conspiracy, resolves to try his Fortune with him, hoping that the Victory might some way or other be betrayed to him.

(n) But *Antonius* having escaped the discovery when their designs were great and hopeful did not now care for coming in to support a broken piece of Villany, (such a sort of People ever measuring Friendship and Enmity by the success of Affairs) and fearing least when they came to a close Engagement, *Catiline* might revile him with some of their horrid Secrets, he pretended to be (o) sick of the Gout, and committed the Fight to his Lieutenant General *M. Petreius*.

(n) Ὑποπτεύσας ἔν τούτῳ ἐκείνῳ, καὶ μὴτε δὲ εὐνοίας ἔτ' αὐτῷ αὐτῷ αἰδεῖσθαι ὅτι δὴ (πρὸς τε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις πᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἐχθράς τὰς τε φιλίας οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦνται) καὶ προσκαταδείσας μήπως, προθύμως αἰσχυροῦσθαι ἰδὼν ἐξουσίᾳ ἢ καὶ προσενέγκῃ οἱ τ' ἀπορήτων αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν προεφασίσαντο, Μάρκῳ δὲ Πιτρῆῳ τὴν μάχην ἐπέτερε. Ibid.

(o) C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod praelio adesse nequibus M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Sall. Bell. Cat. 59.

(p) *Catiline*

(p) *Catiline* drew up his Army in the plain of *Pistoria*, between the Mountains on one hand, and a sharp Rock upon the other: He commanded all the Horses to be quitted, that every ones danger being equal, their courage might be more generally enlarged; he himself walk'd before them on foot, disposing them in such Order as the place would best allow. Eight Cohorts or Companies, usually consisting of Four hundred and twenty men apiece, he placed in the Fort, strengthening them with all the most experienced Captains, and chosen Souldiers he had in his Army: The rest stood closer together, only as it were in reserve to them, in whom he placed all his Hopes. *C. Manlius* lead the right Wing, an old Officer of *Fæsulæ* the left, *Catiline* himself with his most faithful Servants and Followers surrounded that famous Eagle, which was said to have been the Standard of *C. Marius* in the *Cimbrian* War.

(p) *Instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit: dein remotis omnibus equis, quo militibus exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset. ipse pedes exercitum & pro loco atque copiis instruit. Namuti planities erat inter sinistros montes & ab dextera rupes aspera, octo cohortes in fronte constituit: reliqua signa insubidiis artitius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnes selectos evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Fæsulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet, ipse cum liberis & colonibus propter Aquilam adfistit; quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. Ibid.*

Just before the Trumpet sounded to the Engagement he spake to them in this manner :

* **I** Know very well, Souldiers, that words cannot create Valour, a dissolute Army never became strong, nor were Cowards ever made resolute by the Oratory of their General: That courage which Nature and Experience have already given you possession of, that and no more can be expected in the Exigences of War. If the Glory we aim at, if the dangers which surround us do not prevail, all other Exhortations must needs be fruitless: A timorous Mind, ever stops the Ear against the advice it dreads. I have therefore called you only to give a little account of our present circumstances and of what I further design. You know how great a mischief the sloth and negligence of *Lentulus* hath caused both to himself and us, that waiting so long for aid out of the City, I could not march into *Gallia*: And now in what posture our Affairs are, you your selves understand as well as I. There are two Armies of the Enemy, one is between the City, the other between *Gallia* and us; here, if we would never so fain, we can no longer continue, the want of all Provisions is so pressing. Wherever you go, your Swords must open the way, I can therefore only exhort you to be courageous and resolute; when you begin to fight, remember, that you carry not only Riches, Reputation, and Glory, but even your Liberty and your Countrey in your hands. If we Conquer, all things will be secure to us, Provision enough will be brought in, the free Towns and Colonies will set open their Gates. But if you

* *Compertum ego habeo Milites, verba viris virtutem non addere*; Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 58. &c.

‘the

'the other side fear should make us withdraw, we shall
 'find all things as destructive: No Place, no Friend
 'will be able to save him whom his own Arms have
 'not protected: Besides, fellow Souldiers, the case
 'is not the same with them and us: We fight for the
 'enjoyment of our Countrey, Our Liberties, and our
 'Lives: They only to maintain the needless grandeur
 'of a few powerful men. That you may now the
 'more courageously engage, remember your former
 'resolutions; if you had pleased, you might have
 'spent your Lives in a sordid Exile, some of you might
 'have dwelt at *Rome*, cashier'd of your Estates and
 'Depending upon others; but because this was base,
 'and intolerable to the generous, therefore have you
 'pursued the present enterprize. Certain 'tis, no ordi-
 'nary Valour can bring us off; and none but the
 'Conqueror doth by War arrive at the happy rewards
 'of Peace. For to expect safety in flight, and that
 'your Bodies should be secured when you have laid
 'down your Arms, is the greatest madness that ever
 'was. In a Battle, those who are most afraid, are
 'always in the greatest danger, boldness is the
 'strongest Rampart. When I recollect who you are,
 'my fellow Souldiers, and take an estimate of your
 'Actions, I am possessed with the greatest hopes of
 'Victory. Your Birth, your Youth, your Valour, com-
 'mands me thus to assure my self of the utmost success:
 'especially since such necessities drive us on as are suf-
 'ficient to make the greatest Cowards become couragi-
 'ous. We need not fear being inclosed by the Enemy,
 'the straitness of this place sufficiently secures us from
 'that. But if Fortune should envy the Merits of our
 'Valour, be sure not to die unrevenged. Which do
 'you think is better? to be taken and butchered like so

N

' many

'many Beasts, 'or fighting like men to sell our Enemies a dear and mournful Victory?

(q) *Petreius* placed also (as *Catiline* had done) all his *Veterane Cohorts* in the Front, then the rest of his Army as their reserve; he rid about them, called each by their Names, exhorted, encouraged, asked them if they did not remember they were to fight for their Countrey, their Children, their Houses and Temples against a Company of undisciplined Rogues.

(r) He was a very good Souldier, had been either Colonel or Lieutenant for above Thirty years; he Personally knew most of his Army, and was able by reciting their former Valiant actions to enflame their Courage anew.

(q) *Ille cohortes Veteranas, — in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro patria, pro libertate pro aris atque focis suis certare. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 59.*

(r) *Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut praefectus, aut legatus, aut praeter cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos, factaque eorum fortia narrabat, ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat. Ibid.*

(s) So soon as all things were ready, *Petreibs* commanded the Trumpet to sound, and the Cohorts to march a little forwards : The same was done also by the Enemy. After some light harnes'd Souldiers had skirmish'd a little, they came to a close Engagement, and laying aside their Darts, they with a great shout and rage, came to acting all by the Sword : The *Veteranes* mindful of their former Valour, resolutely thrust forwards; their Enemies no less courageously stood their ground, that there was for a great while a most fierce contest. (t) *Catiline* laboured chiefly to maintain that select Company he had placed in the Front of the Battel, he relieved them who began to faint, he called for fresh men in the place of those who were wounded : He had his Eye every where, he fought the Enemy hand to hand, he at once performed the duty of a stout Souldier and good Commander. When *Petreibs* saw *Catiline* fight thus with a Valour so much above expectation, he

(s) *Sed, ubi omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreibs tubâ signum dat, cohortes paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam è ventum est, unde à ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore, infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristina virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare, illi haud timidi resistunt: maximâ vi certatur. Ibid. Cap. 60.*

(t) *Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari; laborantibus succurrere; integros pro sauciis accersere: omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, sepe hostem ferire, strenui militis & boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreibs ubi videt Catilinam contra, ac ratus erat, magnâ vi contendere: cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit; eosque perturbatos, atque alios alibi resistentes, interficit. deinde utrinque ex lateribus ceteros aggredditur. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 60.*

led the Pretorian Cohort, (u) which was in nature of a Life-guard to the General) into the midst of the Enemy, beating down those that were disorder'd, and killing all that made any resistance, having thus routed the Body, he falls upon the Wings; (w) Manlius and the other Commander of *Fæsula*, were slain among the foremost after which, Catiline seeing his Forces scattered and himself left with a very few about him, mindful of his Noble * *Sergia* Family and his former Honours, rush't in among the thickest Enemies, and there died fighting.

(x) The great courage and resolution of his Army appeared even after the Battle was over,

(u) *Talis fuit apud Macedonas Cohors regia.* Lips. in loc.

(w) *Manlius & Fæstulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam suas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis, atque pristinae dignitatis suae, in consertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.* Ibid.

(*) *Sergestusque, domus tenet à quo Sergia nomen, Centauro invehitur magnâ.*

Virgil. 5. *Æneid.*

(x) *Sed confesso prælio, tum vero cerneret quanta audacia, quantæque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissâ anima, corpore tegebat, Pauci autem, quos medios Cohors Prætoriana disjecerat, paulò diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant.*

Catilina verò longe à suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 61.

for

for that same place each Souldier had taken possession of to fight upon, he lay in, when dead: Except some few whom the Pretorian Cohort had overborn; but all of them had such wounds as testified they fell facing their Enemies.

Catiline was found far from any of his own men amidst the heaps of the slain, fetching almost his last breath, but in his dying looks still retaining the fury of his life. (y) Had he performed all this in seeking to save his Countrey, his Death had been glorious enough; * but now 'twas only the closing Scene of Villany: That Soul which had been long due to avenging Justice was but surrendered to it.

(z) Of all the Multitude there was not one Free-born Citizen taken alive, either flying or fighting, they sold their lives at the dearest rate, sparing,

(y) Catilina longe à suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est; pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset. L. Flo. Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

(*) Catilina non segnius notâ obiit, quam sceleris con-
nandi concilia inierat; quippe fortissimè dimicans, quem spiri-
tum supplicio debuerat, supplicio reddidit. Vell. Paternu.
Lib. 2.

(z) Postremo ex omni copia, neque in prælio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est. Ita cuncti suæ hostiūque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi R. letam, aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissimus quisque, aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem qui se à castris visundi, aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant. Fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerant. Ita variè per omnem exercitum lætitia, major, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur. Sall. Bell. Cat. Cap. 61.

themselves

themselves no more than their Enemies. The Conquering Army had no great comfort neither in their Victory, the most Valiant of them, being either slain or wounded, and when they came to turn over the Bodies of the dead, one found a Friend, another his relation, some also saw their particular Enemies, which afforded a confused medly of joy and grief, the best event that can be supposed in a Civil War.

(a) After the Battle was over, *Antonius* sent the Head of *Catiline* to *Rome*, that the People being assured of his Death might acquiesce from their fears; for this Service he was stiled *Imperator*, publick Sacrifices were also decreed, and that the dreaded dangers being now over, they should change their Mourning Attire for the Garments of Joy.

(b) In the height of this destructive Treason, in the Consulship of *Cicero* was Born the most Illustrious, *Octavius* afterwards *Augustus Caesar*; (c) who gave a lasting Peace to the World, when it had been long tir'd out with War and Discord: Under whose peaceful Empire was Born the Prince of Peace himself, the Redeemer and Saviour of men; who hath done more to make us happy, than any

(a) Ὁ δ' ἔν' Ἀντώνιος τὴν τε κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅπως πρῶτον, αὐτὸν τετελευτήκεναι, μηδὲν ἐπ' αἰδῶσιν, ἔπεισε, καὶ αὐτοκράτως ἐπὶ τῇ νικῇ ——— βεβυτηθῆναι τε ἐ-φασίει καὶ ἡ εἰδῶτα ὡς καὶ πάντων τ' δεινῶν, ἀππλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον. *Cass. Lib. 37. Pag. 52.*

(b) *Consulatus Ciceronis non mediocri adjecit decus natus eo anno D. Augustus, omnibus omnium gentium viris magnitudine sua inducens caliginem. Vell. Pater. Lib. 2.*

(c) *Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine principis imperium accessit. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.*

can do to make us miserable: And hath that blessedness to give, which the World can no way equal nor destroy. If we therefore amidst the greatest dangers and difficulties continue in the ways of Virtue, we may reasonably expect to be both safe and successful: Virtue is stronger in its own Nature than Vice, more generally taking, most commonly prevalent: But however, if Vice should become rampant, and Rebellion, Oppression and Cruelty, be let loose in the World, still may Virtuous Persons enjoy a serene pleasure in their own Breasts; and (expecting with a little patience, till the Volumes of Divine goodness, unroll themselves) shall certainly either here receive a joyful return and establishment of Peace, or else be receiv'd into the greater Blessedness of Eternal, undisturb'd Glory.

FINIS.
